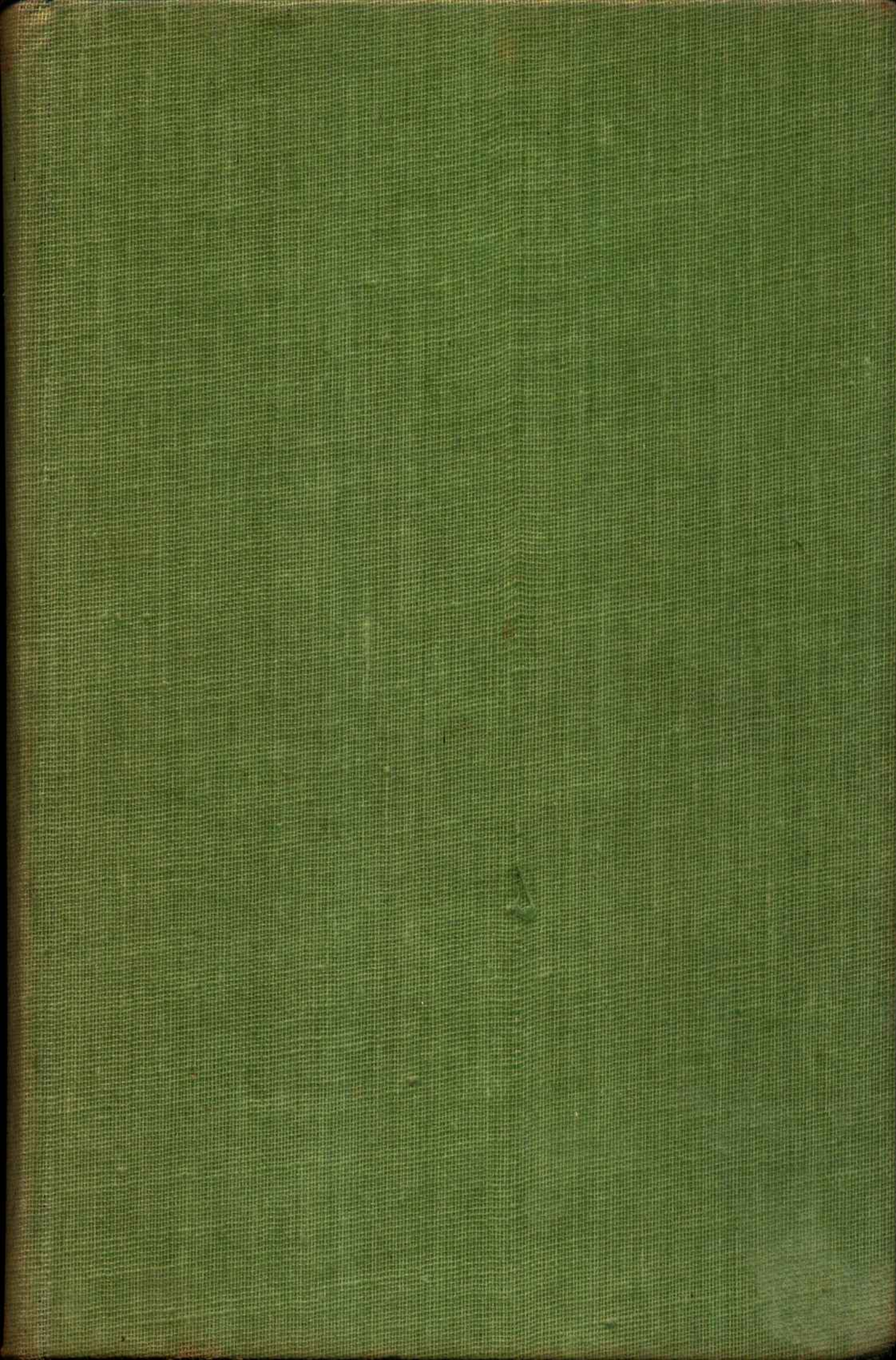


A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF KṢEMENDRA

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To the hallowed memory

of

my parents

PREFACE

It was by the instruction of my revered teacher, Dr. Gaurinath Sastri, M.A., P.R.S., D.Lit., the then Principal of Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, that I took up Kṣemendra as a subject for a critical study, a few years ago, when I was attached to the above College as an Assistant Professor of Sanskrit. I had almost completed my work, when, suddenly, in 1967, I was obliged to leave for a distant place in connection with my service, so that the contemplated publication of the work was consigned to futurity. However, at long last, my study of Kṣemendra, entitled "A critical survey of the Life and Works of Kṣemendra", which is complete in two volumes, is just partly published ; and the first volume of the work sees the light to-day. It is hoped that, circumstances permitting, the second volume will come out before long.

Admittedly, there have already been some good studies of Kṣemendra (e.g., Dr. Sūryakānta's) ; but, yet, I may say, a more critical and comprehensive survey of the life and personality of this great poet as also of his vast and varied contributions to Sanskrit literature is, indeed, a desideratum ; ard it has been my humble endeavour, within the compass of the treatise named above, to remove the want as much as possible.

The present volume comprising an Introduction and eleven chapters deal with almost all pertinent questions relating to the poet's personal life and the history of recovery of his works ; and for the matter of that all available data have been taken into account and existing views and hypotheses discussed and critically examined. Efforts have been made, in respect of every conceivable point connected with the subject, to get at the truth and to keep off hasty and unfounded conclusions.

I fully agree with the Sūtradhāra of *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam*, who says : "*Ā paritoṣād viduṣāṁ na sādhu maney prayoga-vijñānam.*" So I leave the present treatise entirely to the

judgment of experts and connoisseurs, to whom my submission, in the words of Kālidāsa, is : "*Taṁ santaḥ śrotumarhanti sadasad-vyakti-hetavaḥ / Hemnaḥ saṁlakṣyate hyagnau viśud-dhiḥ śyāmikāpi vā //*"

I have no words adequately to express my deep sense of gratitude to my revered teacher, Dr. Gaurinath Sastri whose animating guidance and stimulating influence prevented me being overpowered by my numerous preoccupations and personal difficulties which at times threatened suspension of my progress of work altogether.

Grateful thanks are due to Sri Syamapada Bhattacharya, Proprietor, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta and to Sri Debesh Datta, Proprietor, Arunima Printing Works, Calcutta, both of whom, in mutual co-operation, have given their best help in getting the treatise published.

Any suggestions bearing on an any point regarding the subject will be thankfully received and duly considered by the author, who will also greatefully note and correct any mistakes or misprints that may be pointed out.

Amaravati Colony
Barasat, 24 Parganas
The 9th August, 1974

Rajatbaran Dattaray

VOLUME I

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INTRODUCTION

Kashmir produced a galaxy of writers to whom the wealth of Indian wisdom owes a great deal. Kṣemendra who is admittedly one of the front-ranking writers of Kashmir flourished in the eleventh century of the Christian era during the reign of king Ananta and his son and successor, Kalaśa of Kashmir. Kṣemendra's private life, like that of many other luminaries of ancient India, is shrouded in obscurity and has been almost a subject of vain conjecture. But, yet, we are not absolutely without any information about his parentage, student-life and other things of biographical implication. Kṣemendra's father was Prakāśendra renowned for his riches and munificent charities. Born with a silver-spoon in his mouth and brought up in an atmosphere of unhindered financial prosperity, Kṣemendra got ample opportunity to receive the best education under the best teachers of the land. He had an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and with indefatigable energy he studied the various branches of literature and allied subjects under the guidance of the most distinguished authorities of his time. The name of Kṣemendra is associated with that of the reputed rhetorician, Abhinavagupta, with whom he studied rhetoric. Gaṅgaka and Somapāda were his other two teachers. He also describes himself as the disciple of all masters of learning. Kṣemendra's father was a Śaiva and an earnest devotee of his god. He spent a lot in promoting the cause of his religious faith. Kṣemendra's teacher, Abhinavagupta was also a staunch Śaivite and an invulnerable advocate of Śaivism. What his father and his teacher had taught him, what his environment and his education had given him in the most early and formative period of his career did not, however, have any abiding effect in the matter of fashioning Kṣemendra's religious faith. Kṣemendra abandoned Śaivism and ultimately embraced Vaiṣṇavism. This was due to the influence of his teacher, Somapāda, whom he held in high esteem. This change-over from one cult to another necessarily marking an important phase of Kṣemendra's

life is a pointer to the poet's distinctive personality and is, therefore, frought with the deepest significance.

Kṣemendra's period of literary activity covers a period of about five decades, falling roughly between 1015 A.D. and 1066 A.D. It is evident that Ksemendra since his very early years pursued his own line of poetic craftsmanship with inimitable industry and zeal. He welded his pen to various kinds of subjects ; and his literary output in its volume, variety and value is of no mean order. He wrote poetical epitomes, didactic poems and treatises on poetics and metrics and several other subjects. To the polymath Kṣemendra is attributed the authorship of some forty works, but a lot of them exist only in name.

Kṣemendra wrote summaries in verse of the two great epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Obviously, Kṣemendra was keenly conscious of the supreme inportance of these two store-houses of stories as sources of plots of the works of numberless poets of the land. He was evidently also aware of the fact that the importance of these monumental works further lies in their eternal popular appeal and in the influence they are exerting through the ages in shaping and sustaining the religio-secular trend of thought generally pervading the life of the Indian folk in all strata of society. It was, in all probability, this consciousness and a genuine urge for presenting to the reading masses these two popular and magnificent national epics in a condensed and readily assimilable form that set him to the arduous task of composing the summaries, viz., the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī and the Bhāratamañjarī.

The Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya was a unique creation, a stupendous wcrkmanship, in the literary history of India. It is the earliest known work representing the popular tale. Good many poetic compositions, dealing with secular legends, derived their plots, either directly or indirectly, from the Bṛhatkathā. Unfortunately this great work is lost to us. It is, however, immensely gratifying that the contents of this story-book have been preserved though not in strictly identical

forms, in its three adaptations. Kṣemendra, Buddhasvamin and Somadeva are the three master compilers who have saved the contents of this invaluable story-book (originally written in Paiśāchī Prākṛta) from the disastrous casualty of their being completely washed away by the billowing tide of time. They have thus rendered singular service to the literary world. To Kṣemendra, therefore, as well as to the other two, is due the nation's gratefulness. Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī whose worth thus stands unassailed can hardly be left unnoticed in the study of the Indian story literature.

The importance of the stories connected with the birth of the Buddha is too great to be over-emphasised. These stories have been used through centuries as sources of materials by the many writers, painters and sculptors of India and regions outside. This is a fact which cannot escape our notice ; and the hard-working polymath Kṣemendra has justly elicited our unstinted admiration by his judicious employment of his untiring pen in composing the Avadānakalpalatā comprising a collection of the Jātaka stories. It is interesting to note that the work was translated into Tibetan sometime in the first quarter of the thirteenth century and has since been looked upon with the deepest regard as an asset to the Tibetan literature.

Having, as he did, due regard for the nation's store-houses of myths and legends, Kṣemendra employed himself with significant success in composing the poetical epitomes. It cannot be gainsaid that the narratives contained in these epitomes are mostly dry and dull and lack the spark of intellectual ingenuity and the warmth of poetic animation. But, yet, in some places they are interspersed with really beautiful passages indicative of the poet's imaginative faculty and power of description of a remarkably high order. What is most important about these works is that they are scrupulously faithful to the purpose they are designed to serve and appear to have been consciously and cautiously guarded against being normally taken off in feats of romantic flight into regions of emotional excesses and reveries impeding the easy flow of the narratives.

The Daśāvatāracarita of Kṣemendra has a unique distinction of its own. It is neither a religious poem nor a work of art. It simply gives a fairly interesting account of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, and is, for the major part of the work, in perfect agreement with the tradition of the Purāṇic legends. Despite the fact that there is nothing extra-ordinary about the book in respect of its theme or its treatment of the materials utilised, the poet has evinced in his work a distinctly independent sprit by his inclusion of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It is on account of this venture on the poet's part that the work stands out in bold relief as an effective protest against the age-old anti-Buddhistic bias. After centuries of stress and strain suffered by Buddhism under the sway of Brāhmaṇical dogmatism, the Buddha was, however, at long last, slowly adapted into the Hindu pantheon. It is noteworthy that Kṣemendra is one of the few pioneers who had the urge and the courage to put in writing their honest opinion in favour of this adaptation of the Buddha. "The Brahmanical writers," observes Rev. Wilkins in his Hindu Mythology, "were far too shrewd to admit that one who exerted such immense influence and won so many disciples could be other than an incarnation of the deity." Be that as it may. But it must be admitted, in all fairness to Kṣemendra, that his glorification of the Buddha was not the least motivated by any religious diplomacy nor was it in a vexed spirit of strained compromise under sheer pressure of circumstances. Kṣemendra had an open mind, an enlightened vision and a progressive outlook essentially opposed to base conservatism and bigotry that is always abominable. He advises tolerance and free thinking. He despises dogmatism and ideological servitude.

Kṣemendra's achievement as a poet trying his pen in the various avenues of original literary activities is also highly commendable. Kṣemendra writes a lucid style. He commands prodigious mastery over the vast vocabulary of the Sanskrit language. Unlike many other classical poets, he is completely unassuming and is far from pedantic. He betrays no over-enthusiasm in the use of rhetorical figures. His compositions, stuffed as they are not with external embellishments, have a

pleasant freshness, a suave simplicity and an unsophisticated charm about them.

Kṣemendra is an adept artist in the use of wit and humour, a master of pithy and dexterous sayings and a satirist par excellence. His Kalāvilāsa, Samayamātṛkā, Darpadalana, Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā have earned him a reputation not unworthy of a gifted and industrious poet. Some of these works give us interesting pictures, pictures that are highly realistic and come up to the modern taste, of the nooks and corners of contemporary society, of the dark and deplored sides of life, and of the follies and frailties of the human mind. The lamentable lack of balance and harmony in man's manners and customs, action and thought in the various walks of life and in the different spheres of society seriously engages his attention ; and with an eagle's eye he probes into the depth of all things whether shining with a glittering appearance or lying dim and dumb behind the screen. He resents, ridicules and seeks to banish hypocrisy and moral bankruptcy of all forms and types. Pre-eminently didactic in character, the said works breathe an air of a genuinely benevolent spirit. Kṣemendra has a philanthropic bent of mind, and, in the spirit of a reformer, he aims at elevating the moral standard of society by bringing into prominence all its loop-holes and absurdities. He spares not the evils ; he lays bare the weak points without reserve ; he strikes with vigour. But, he does not mean violence. When he smiles, he smiles out of compassion and not in contempt. All his pricks and kicks, jokes and caricatures, ironies and satires are meant to rectify the society, to correct the errors and to drive out the evils, and have the enlivening touch of the benign spirit of a true benefactor.

As a critic also Kṣemendra enjoys an important position in the domain of Sanskrit literature. The Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, the Aucityavicāra-carcā and the Suvṛttatilaka bear clear evidence of his profound scholarship in poetics and metrics in their theoretical as well as practical aspects. These works have also a supreme importance of their own in so far as they bear the distinct stamp of Kṣemendra's personality as

revealed in his independent judgment in respect of certain values and principles relating to poetics and metrics. Kṣemendra, being himself a pupil of Abhinavagupta, the great rhetorician then commanding universal allegiance, does not agree with his own master on the point of Dhvani (Suggestion) being regarded as the absolute principle constituting the soul of poetry but upholds the doctrine of Aucitya (Propriety) as a rival theory. This is indeed a sriking phenomenon which is far too significant to be lost sight of.

As a writer of epitomes and original compositions, as a satirist and a critic, as a lover and observer of life, as a poet bent upon reforming the society, as an untiring adventurer exploring the varied fields of literary workmanship, as a writer also of various treatises (not specifically mentioned here) calculated to serve some special social and academic needs, as one endowed with insight, integrity and enlightened outlook, the Kashmirian polymath Kṣemendra holds an eminent position in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, and is quite legitimately entitled to more than what has been said of him in appreciation of his services. Speaking about Kṣemendra, Dr. Sūryakānta observes, "Kṣemendra has attracted me; he has moved me to reflection; he has revealed to me certain aspects of Indian life, literature and philosophy, which I am prompted to express, together with recording a few contributions of fact and opinion that are likely to throw light on the many facets of his complex personality, his works, his environment, his faith, his fancy that fed on the study of real things and the vision into which he poured his faculties."

Kṣemendra may, therefore, claim to be a source of interest and inspiration eternally for scholars and poets alike; and although he is not absolutely an unexplored field now, he is not worn-out still, and his personality and productions legitimately call for further studies for a more critical assessment and fuller comprehension of this shining star in the firmament of Indian literature.

CHAPTER ONE

KṢEMENDRA—HIS NAME AND NAMESAKES

The name of our author is Kṣemendra. According to Prof. Weber, Kṣemaṅkara was another name of Kṣemendra.[1] There is, however, no evidence at our disposal to corroborate Prof. Weber's statement. The name 'Kṣemendra' is deserving of notice, in as much as, unlike in the case of many other reputed poets or scholars of ancient Kashmir, namely, Udbhaṭa, Ruyyaka, Mammaṭa, Bilhaṇa, Kalhaṇa and so on, this is a name which is a pure Sanskrit word containing a very good meaning. 'Kṣemendra' is composed of 'Kṣema' and 'Indra'. 'Kṣema' means prosperity;[2] and 'Indra' which is primarily a name given to the lord of the gods may be and is really used here in a wider sense to mean a lord in general. Hence the word 'Kṣemendra' literally means 'the lord of prosperity.' Kṣemendra actually lived a life of prosperous activities dedicated to literature and human welfare. His name, therefore, did not remain a meaningless mark with him but had its purport amply fulfilled in his life and personality. Probably Kṣemendra himself was also alive to this meaningfulness of his name; and this our assumption is stimulated by an expression in Kṣemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, which is as follows:

> Kṣemam aindraṁ sa labhate
> bhavyo'bhinavavāgbhavam.[3]

'Kṣemam aindram' as used in the above extract is a phrase obviously designed to suggest a reference to the poet's own name;[4] and the expression as a whole also reflects the poet's purpose to realise in his own life a complete justification of his name. It appears that Kṣemendra had a special fondness for finding, where possible, a correlation between a *nāman* and a *nāmin*; and this feature of his mental make-up is revealed in a concluding verse of his Mahābhāratamañjarī where the

poet seeks to set forth a good justification of the personal name of his father in reference to the latter's life and character.[5]

Kṣemendra is often popularly called Kṣema. This is evidently in consonance with the conventional practice having for its support the principle which allows the use of a part of a name to denote the name itself.[6] It is interesting to note that we come across several figures belonging to different strata of ancient Kashmirian society, who had the very same name, 'Kṣema'. Kalhaṇa tells us of as many as three Kṣemas, one of whom, a barber, was the Treasurer and Revenue Officer under king Ananta (Rāj. VII. 203 ; 210), the other, described as a rogue exploiting king Harṣa (Rāj. VII. 1073), being the son of Vāmana, Prime Minister during Kalaśa's rule (Rāj. VII. 568), and the third a faithful servant of Sussala's foster-brother, Hitahita (Rāj. VIII. 414).

In the Rājataraṅgiṇī we also come across several other names formed with 'Kṣema' as their initial and essential part. They are : (i) Kṣemagupta,[7] (ii) Kṣemaṭa,[8] (iii) Kṣemadeva,[9] (iv) Kṣemarāja(1)[10] (v) Kṣemarāja(2)[11] (vi) Kṣemānanda,[12] and (vii) Kṣemavadana.[13] It may be mentioned in this connection that during Saṁgrāmarāja's rule (A.D. 1003-1028) there was one Kṣemā who was the wife of Tuṅga's son, Kandarpasiṁha[14] and that the word 'Kṣema' is associated with the name of a shrine, called Kṣemamaṭha, founded by Kṣemagupta at Varamula[15] as also with the name of a magnificient temple of Pravarapura of ancient Kashmir, called Kṣemagaurīśvara.[16] In having a name which, in its abbreviated form though, thus appears to have enjoyed for centuries a fairly wide popularity in the Valley of Kashmir, Kṣemendra may rightly claim a distinction over many of the other reputed savants of ancient India whose names are not known to have so been current in popular use in their own region or elsewhere.

We also know of good many Indian authors of the past, whose names are formed with 'Kṣema' as their initial and essential part. Since our Kṣemendra popularly called Kṣema happens in this way to have several namesakes in the literary

history of ancient India, it would stand us in good stead to know these authors also in the event of any chance, however remote, of confusion of identity arising out of mere sameness or similarity of names. The following names deserve notice in this connection: (i) Kṣemahaṁsagaṇi,[17] (ii) Kṣemajaya,[18] (iii) Kṣemakara (Śāstrin),[19] (iv) Kṣemakarṇa,[20] (v) Kṣemakīrti,[21] (vi) Kṣemanandanātha,[22] (vii) Kṣemaṅkara,[23] (viii) Kṣemakarṇa Miśra,[24] (ix) Kṣemaṅkaramuni,[25] (x) Kṣemarāja,[26] (xi) Kṣemaśarman,[27] (xii) Kṣemavṛddhi,[28] (xiii) Kṣemananda,[29] (xiv) Kṣemendra,[30] and (xv) Kṣemīśvara.[31]

In the domain of Sanskrit literature, we also come across several authors bearing the name, 'Kṣemendra'. It is indeed necessary to know them so as to ward off all chances of confusion in respect of our poet's identity. We know of one Kṣemendrabhadra of Magadha to whom is attributed the authorship of a work consisting of 2000 ślokas by Tāranātha in his History of Buddhism.[32] Nagendra Nāth Vasu in his "Viśvakoṣa" expresses the opinion that Kṣemendrabhadra is probably identical with Kṣmendra Vyāsadāsa of Kashmir. But, there is obviously no reason for confusing the Kashmirian Kṣemendra with this Kṣemendra who belonged to Magadha. In the Catalogus Catalogorum we have five different Kṣemendras in addition to our poet, the Kashmirian Kṣemendra of the eleventh century. The "Madanamahārṇava" by one Kṣemendra is originally recorded in Būhler's Catalogue.[33] The manuscript is classed under Jyotiṣam. It is to be noted that the name, 'Kṣemendra' appears there with a query mark by its side, obviously indicating thereby the Cataloguer's doubt, presumably on some reasonable ground, regarding the authorship of the book. Since the book is not available to us, and because the necessary evidence is lacking, we cannot forsooth pronounce any clear verdict on the question as to whether the author of this book and our Kṣemendra are identical or not. Put to this position of doubt and uncertainty, we are obliged to base our argument in favour of taking the author of the book as a different man from our Kṣemendra on the authority of the Catalogus Catalogorum itself and on the absence of any contradiction to it yet known. The "Lipiviveka"[34] and the

"Mātṛkāviveka"[35] are two works by one Kṣemendra who, according to Dr. Aufrecht, was the son of one Bhūdhara, a Nāgara Brahmin of Rājanagara, and wrote by order of Śaṅkaralāla, Chief of Pitland. There is another Kṣemendra, the author of "Hastijanaprakāśa".[36] This Kṣemendra, belonging to Gurjara, was the son of one Yaduśarman. It is obvious that our Kṣemendra is a man different from either of these two Kṣemendras. In his First Report, Prof. Peterson says : "Lastly there is in the Bhao Daji Collection, deposited in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, a work attributed to Kṣemendra, called *Hastijanaprakāśa*, but this I regret I have not been able to examine".[37] In the Introduction to his edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī, Prof. Peterson remarks : "The Hastijanaprakāśa in the Bhau Daji Collection is by a Kṣemendra who calls himself son of Yaduśarman".[38] The editorial note which goes with Kṣemendra's "Kalāvilāsa" published in the Kāvyamālā Series (Part I) includes the "Hastijanaprakāśa" as one of the twenty-eight works enlisted there of the Kashmirian polymath, Kṣemendra. But, in the prefatory note introducing Kṣemendra's "Aucityavicāracarcā", the last of the works published in the same part of the Series, the earlier inclusion of the "Hastijanaprakāśa" as a work by the Kashmirian Kṣemendra who wrote the "Kalāvilāsa" etc. has been contradicted, and the revised view given there reads as follows : "atha ca tatra Kṣemendrakṛtagrantheṣu 'Hastijanaprakāśaḥ' iti granthanāma likhitam, tatkartā kaścid arvācīno Gurjaradeśodbhavo Yaduśarmasūnuranyaḥ Kṣemendra iti jñeyam". This revised view appear reiterated as below in the Introductory Note to the Nirṇaya-Sāgara edition of Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara : "evam Hastijanaprakāśakartā Gurjaradeśodbhavo Yaduśarmasūnuḥ kaścana tṛtīyo'pi Kṣemendraḥ āsīt". The following observation of Dr. Sūryakānta deserves notice in this connection : "Pandit Śiva Datta ascribes Hastiprakāśa to Kṣemendra, but as he himself admits, the ascription is doubtful."[39] But, as is quite evident from the above discussion, there is hardly any room for doubt regarding the fact that Kṣemendra, author of "Hastijanaprakāśa", is a different person altogether.[40]

There is a commentary on the "Sārasvataprakriyā" of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya by one Kṣemendra,[41] also called Kṣemendra Sūri.[42] Anubhūtisvarūpa has been assigned to a period not earlier than A.D. 1250. Besides, the author of the said commentary, Kṣemendra, was the son of one Haribhaṭṭa or Haribhadra and the pupil of Kṛṣṇāśrama. In view of these facts we can safely conclude that the author of the commentary on "Sārasvataprakriyā" was different from the great Kṣemendra of Kashmir.[43] Dr. Krishnamāchāriār seems, however, to have taken these two Kṣemendras as identical. This is but evident from the fact that in the Index to his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, under the name 'Kṣemendra' which, as the references given against it indicate, means the great polymath of Kashmir, he mentions in the footnote the name of Dhaneśvara as one who criticised 'Kṣemendra's views on Sanskrit Grammar in his Sārasvataprakriyā as Kṣemendrakhaṇḍana'.[44] This is obviously a confusion of which the reason is not known. A book entitled "Ekaśṛṅga" is ascribed to one Kṣemendra who is also considered to be different from our Kṣemendra.[45]

The question as to whether the Kashmirian polymath, Kṣemendra, is identical with Kṣemarāja, the Saivite philosopher and pupil of the celebrated Abhinavagupta of Kashmir has long since engaged the attention of scholars. In A.D. 1872, Dr. Būhler writes : "An Abhinavagupta is also known as one of the teachers of a sect of Śaivas. A work of his is mentioned by Hall, Catal. p. 199, as well as several works by a pupil of this Śaiva called Kṣemarāja. It is not unlikely that Kṣemarāja may be the same as Kṣemendra. But as the works quoted by Dr. Hall are not accessible to me, I leave the question undecided".[46] Having thus suggested a likelihood of Kṣemarāja being identical with the Kashmirian poet, Kṣemendra, Dr. Būhler, again in A.D. 1877, in his Kashmir Report, proposed the identification of this Ksemarāja with a Kṣemendra who wrote a Spandasandoha and a Spandanirṇaya but whom he regards as certainly different from Kṣemendra, the Kashmirian polymath.[47] The two manuscripts, discovered by Dr. Būhler, of Spandasandoha and Spandanirṇaya evidently gave 'Kṣemen–

dra' as the name of their author. This made confusion regarding the identity of their author almost inevitable and the authorship of these two works an embarrassing question. Dr. Būhler's observation as noted above attempts, however, to solve the question by proposing an indentification of this Kṣemendra with Kṣemarāja, author of Sāmbapañcāśikāvivaraṇam. As a matter of fact, in the colophons to the works, Spandasandoha and Spandanirṇaya as available in print, we have the name 'Kṣemarāja' and not 'Kṣemendra' as the name of their author.[48] Further, in the fourth concluding verse of Spandanirṇaya, 'Kṣemarāja' and not 'Kṣemendra' occurs as the name of its author.[49] Also, in both the works, Pratyabhijñahṛdaya and Śivasūtravimarśinī, 'which are accepted by all to be of Kṣemarāja's authorship',[50] the works, Spandasandoha and Spandanirṇaya are referred to by the author as his own.[51] It was, therefore, most probably a scribal error which recorded 'Kṣemendra' in place of 'Kṣemarāja' as the name of the author of these two works (i.e., Spandasandoha and Spandanirṇaya).

It was Prof. Peterson who first of all proposed identification of Kṣemarāja with Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa, the Kashmirian polymath. In his First Report, Peterson writes : "Kshemendra, there is reason to suppose, was in his youth a Śaiva, and was converted later to the Vaishṇava-Bhāgavata creed by Somāchārya (Būhler's Kashmir Report, p. 46). He studied the Alaṁkāraśāstra under the famous Abhinavaguptāchārya. When therefore we find, No. 212, a commentary on a pañchāśikā in honour of Śiva, written by a Kshemarāja, who describes himselt as a pupil of Abhinavagupta, I think that the presumption is in favour of the hypothesis that in Kshemarāja and Kshemendra we have, as is often the case, two names of identical purport for one and the same writer".[52] In support of his above presumption, Prof. Peterson further remarks : "Kshemarāja may have changed his name to Kshemendra at the time of his conversion, as Saul changed his to Paul. For the extent to which synonyms are used in the sphere even of proper names in India, see some remarks by Max Müller in the valuable note he has appended to his India : what can it teach us ? p. 314. We shall see later on a case where the poet Harsha has lain

concealed under the synonym Ruchikara".[53] While proposing the above identification on the basis of some arguments of his own that cannot, indeed, forthwith be set aside, Prof. Peterson was fully alive to Dr. Būhler's observation on the point which was opposed to his. He thus frankly submits : "But I put forward this identification with all reserve, as it has the weight of Būhler's authority against it. Būhler, who first found the Sāmbapañchāśikāvivaraṇam, has himself proposed the identification of our Kshemarāja with a Kshemendra who wrote a Spandasandoha and a Spandanirṇaya, both of which it has to be noted, deal, like the Sāmbapañchāśikāvivaraṇam, with the Kashmirian Saivite doctrine, but that Kshemendra he regards as 'certainly different from Kshemendra Vyāsadāsa'."[54] In 1884, Dr. Būhler reiterates his considered opinion against the identification of Kṣemarāja with Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa and records his disagreement with Prof. Peterson on this point. He writes : "In his note on the Sāmbapañcāśikāvivaraṇa, which is also represented in the Government Collection of 1875-77, Prof. Peterson proposes to identify its author, Kshemarāja with Kshemendra Vyāsadāsa. I am still unwilling to agree to that step as in 1877".[55] With this, Dr. Būhler advances some argument in his support, suggesting also how the problem could be finally solved. He says : "For though the names are really identical, they are so common, and both Kshemarāja's and Kshemendra's compositions so numerous[56] that they probably designate two different persons. The question can be settled only when the name of Kshemarāja's father is found".[57] In 1894, we find Prof. Peterson revising his former view,, thus : "He (i.e. Kṣemendra) mentions his guru Abhinavagupta. But my identification of him on that ground with Kshemarāja, I, p. 11 is wrong."[58]

The attention of modern scholars also, including Dr. S. K. De, Dr. K. C. Pāṇḍey and Dr. Sūryakānta, has been focussed on the question of identification of Kṣemarāja with Kṣemendra. Dr. De, in 1923, concludes his discussion on the topic, saying : "The question, therefore, cannot be taken as definitely settled, and can be satisfactorily solved when, as Būhler long ago pointed out, the name of Kṣemarāja's father is found".[59]

Dr. Pāṇḍey, in 1935, concludes his dissertation on the above topic with these words : "After stating the above arguments we leave it now to the reader to pronounce the final verdict".[60] Dr. Sūryakānta also, in 1954, having discussed the problem in some details, finally remarks : "It is safe however to let the question remain open."[61] These scholars, therefore, although obviously inclined not to identify Kṣemarāja with Kṣemendra, yet appear to be in a position not sufficiently safe and sound so as to enable them to give their verdict in clear and emphatic terms. This naturally puts us under the obligation of making a fresh endeavour to solve the problem in the light of whatever arguments have already been or may still be forwarded against the identification of Kṣemerāja with Kṣemendra. The following points embodying the arguments already noticed by scholars evidently deserve our first consideration in this connection.

(i) Kṣemendra's birth may be assigned to a date not earlier than 990 A.D.[62] At that time Kṣemarāja must have been an accomplished young man. This is evident from the fact that he was one of those who requested Abhinava to write the Tantrāloka composed about that time.[63]

(ii) Kṣmendra's literary career covered the second and third quarters of the eleventh century.[64] Kṣemarāja's literary activity beginning from the close of the first quarter did not extend beyond the second quarter of the same.[65]

(iii) Kṣemendra's father was Prakāśendra and his grandfather Sindhu.[66] Kṣemarāja, as we know, was a cousin (pitṛvya-tanaya) of Abhinavagupta who mentions one Vāmanagupta as his uncle (pitṛvya). Since we do not know of any other uncle of Abhinava, we might feel tempted to believe that Vāmanagupta was Kṣemarāja's father.[67] But that might merely be an innocent supposition without the weight of a valid conclusion. We are however told that Abhinavagupta's grandfather was Varāha-

gupta.[68] It is not unlikely that this Varāhagupta was the grandfather of Kṣemarāja also.

(iv) Kṣemendra composed his last known work, the Daśāvatāracarita, in Tripureśaśaila, a place which was perhaps a favourite place of repose for the hard-working poet, if not his usual place of residence. But Kṣemarāja, as it appears from his own statement in his Vivṛti on the Stava-Cintāmaṇi, lived in Vijayeśvara.

(v) Kṣemendra and Kṣemarāja stand out in sharp contrast to each other, so far as their personality, their temper and temperament, as revealed in their works, are concerned. Kṣemendra is a normal man, realistic and interested in worldly affairs, whereas Kṣemarāja is averse to materialism and is urged by a craving for spiritual upliftment.[69]

(vi) 'Kṣemendra' and 'Kṣemarāja' are obviously two different names.

(vii) Kṣemendra has a secondary name, Vyāsadāsa, which is often found coupled with his original name. But Kṣemarāja, either in the body of his works or in their colophons, never appears to have any such secondary name.

(viii) Both Kṣemendra and Kṣemarāja were pupils of Abhinavagupta. But Kṣemendra's contact with Abhinava does not seem to have been so close and intimate as that of Kṣemarāja who was professedly an adherent disciple of the great philosopher.[70]

(ix) Kṣemendra was originally a Śaiva, but later on he embraced Vaiṣṇavism. Kṣemarāja, on the other hand, was a staunch Śaivite throughout his life.

(x) Kṣemendra is rather eloquent in providing information about his parents and ancestors, his friends and associates, the ruling king and the social and political conditions of his time and such other

things as are decidedly of great biographical value. Kṣemarāja is conspicuously silent on his genealogy or personal history, always hiding his light under a bushel and being apparently free from the trace of natural vanity.

(xi) Kṣemendra's compositions are chiefly of literary interest or didactic value. But the works of Kṣemarāja are pre-eminently dialectical.

Dr. K. C. Pāṇḍey has advanced most of the arguments given above, viz., those bearing nos i to viii. Points nos vii, x and xi have been set forth by Dr. Sūryakānta. Dr. De has put forward the arguments nos vii to x. He has taken note of the question of chronology also.

The following points, as supplement to the above, may now, to our advantage, be taken into consideration in connection with the question under discussion.

(xii) We may be almost sure that Kṣemarāja had the same great grandfather as Abhinava's. But the great grandfather's name is not known to us. We are, however, told that the names of Abhinavagupta's father, uncle and grandfather and the earliest mentioned ancestor of the family were Narasiṁhagupta,[71] Vāmanagupta,[72] Varāhagupta[73] and Atrigupta,[74] respectively. All these names have the ending 'gupta', a term which denotes a sect of Kashmir Brahmins.[75] It is, therefore, quite likely that the name of Abhinavagupta's great grandfather, and therefore of Kṣemarāja's also, had the same ending, i.e., 'gupta'. The name of Kṣemendra's great grandfather, Bhogīndra, has no such ending, and is thus obviously a different name possibly denoting a different person. Having different great grandfathers, Kṣemarāja and Kṣemendra cannot be identical.

(xiii) In the body of his works or in their colophons, Kṣemarāja is variously named, as Kṣemarāja,[76] Kṣema,[77] Kṣema-Rājānaka[78] or Rājānaka-Kṣemarāja.[79] But the name of Kṣemendra, wherever it occurs, either in his books proper or in their colophons, appears invariably as Kṣemendra. Probably it was a conscious and considered measure adopted by Kṣemendra that he always gave in his books his full name instead of the possible abbreviated form, 'Kṣema'. In the colophons also there is given the full forename of Kṣemendra, and in several cases we find his secondary name 'Vyāsadāsa', or his father's name 'Prakāśendra', or both mentioned along with the poet's own original name. This practice was presumably prompted by the purpose of guarding the readers against all chances of Kṣemendra's wrong identification with his senior contemporary Kṣemarāja who, as we know, was equally known by his shorter name, 'Kṣema'.

(xiv) Kṣemarāja is supposed to be the same as the Kṣema mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka (Ch. 37). He was not only one of Abhinava's favourite pupils but a cousin of his. There is no evidence to show that Kṣemendra was a blood-relation of Abhinavagupta.

(xv) Abhinavagupta was a Brahmin. Kṣemarāja, being his cousin, was also evidently a Brahmin which Kṣemendra probably was not.[80]

(xvi) In the colophons to his various works, Kṣemarāja is often described as an 'Ācārya' of the Māheśvara school of philosophy, whereas Kṣemendra is never so described. Only the word 'Kavi' or 'Mahākavi' sometimes appears prefixed to Kṣemendra's name. It is, however, noteworthy that the colophon in the manuscript of Kṣemendra's Cārucaryāśataka which Prof. Peterson had discovered in Jeypore and a portion of which is given

by him in his First Report describes the poet as Maheśvarācāryavarya.[81] This is probably the only known instance of Kṣemendra being so described in a colophon. It must, however, be noted that the printed edition of the book, in its colophon, does not describe its author as Maheśvarācārya. It seems really inconsistent that the poet who describes himself as Vyāsadāsa in the very last verse of the said book should, immediately after, be declared in the same strain in the colophon as an 'Ācarya' of the Śaivite system. We, therefore, feel inclined to believe that it was purely a scribal error probably caused by a confusion regarding Kṣemendra's identity which described Kṣemendra as such.

(xvii) Kṣemarāja studied both literature and philosophy, and Kṣemendra, according to his own statement, read literature, perhaps only literature, with Abhinavagupta. There is indeed no evidence to show that Kṣemendra read any other subject with this teacher.[82]

(xviii) Kṣemarāja frequently gives unequivocal expression to his absolute devotion to Abhinavagupta as his 'guru' and to none else.[83] Kṣemendra, on the other hand, mentions the names of a number of persons from whom he received instruction or inspiration, and he calls himself 'sarvamanīṣiśiṣya'.[84] In the single known statement that Kṣemendra makes about Abhinava, he simply records his honest appreciation of the latter's profound scholarship.[85] Besides, Kṣemendra seems to have the highest regard for the Purāṇic character, Vyāsa, as well as for his spiritual guide, Somācārya.

(xix) Kṣemarāja, as is but apparent, carried on the work of his teacher, Abhinava, in the right spirit of a staunch follower. He harnessed his abilities to the task of explaining and establishing his master, not only in the field of philosophy proper but in

that of poetics as well. A commentary called Udyota on Abhinava's Locana has also been ascribed to Kṣemarāja.[86] But, Kṣemendra had an independent way of his own. He did never bother himself about Abhinava's philosophy. What is still more important is that he had the boldness to bring in a rival theory, namely, that of Aucitya, in the field of poetics which was then under the sovereign sway of Abhinavagupta.

(xx) Kṣemendra's forefather, Narendra was a minister of Kashmir.[87] We do not know of any ancestor of Kṣemarāja who held an administrative post of the same or a similar character.

(xxi) Kṣemendra was born and brought up in an atmosphere of affluence and happiness. We cannot gather any direct information about Kṣemarāja's family either from Kṣemarāja or from any other source. It may, however, be stated that Kṣemarāja, a cousin and pupil of Abhinava as he was, certainly came of and lived in a family which was distinguished for intellectual attainments and scholarly mode of living surcharged with the spirit of renunciation and devotion to Śiva.[88]

(xxii) Peterson suggested that Kṣemendra and Kṣemarāja were identical, 'Kṣemarāja' having been the poet's original name changed to 'Kṣemendra' by change of religion.[89] It is to be noted that, unlike in the case of 'Harṣa-Rucikara' cited by Peterson as an illustrative example in support of his contention and unlike in many other similar cases also, in the supposed change of name from 'Kṣemarāja' to 'Kṣemendra', there is retained the full essential part of the earlier name, i.e., 'Kṣema', making the conjectured change strangely insignificant and unworthy of claiming our credence. Further, the purport of the supposed new name (i.e., 'Kṣemendra') is not markedly consistent with the spirit of

the Vaiṣṇava-Bhāgavata faith which is supposed to have been responsible for the change in question. This is also perhaps a legitimate ground for challenging the validity of Peterson's supposition.

(xxiii) The supposed identification of Kṣemendra with Kṣemarāja is rudely rocked also by the fact that there is no mention either by Kṣemendra of a single one of the works attributed to Kṣemarāja or by Kṣemarāja of any one of the works attributed to Kṣemendra.

(xxiv) Dr. C. Kunhān Rājā, in his New Catalogus Catalogorum describes Abhinavagupta as 'guru of Kṣemarāja and Kṣemendra'. This reveals the learned scholar's supposition that Kṣemarāja and Kṣemendra were two different personalities.[90] The validity of the supposition may be further confirmed with reference to several other authentic catalogues so far compiled in India and abroad.

Chapter Two

VYĀSADĀSA—A NAME OF KṢEMENDRA

In October, 1872, Dr. Būhler informed the academic world of his acquisition of a manuscript of the Bṛhatkathā, bearing the date, Samvat 1742 (A.D. 1685), the colophon of which, as quoted by him, mentions 'Vyāsadāsapara' as a name of its author, Kṣemendra.[1] This name, 'Vyāsadāsapara,' by itself, evidently does not afford any reason for its immediate rejection; and it would rather suggest the probability of Kṣemendra having been a fervent devotee of some saint or apostle called Vyāsadāsa. But we cannot accept this name-form in view of the fact that in each of the several other manuscripts of Kṣemendra's works, subsequently discovered, where the other name of the poet actually appears either in the body of the book or in the colophon or colophons of the same, it is simply 'Vyāsadāsa' and not 'Vyāsadāsapara' that is mentioned. In fact, scholars including Dr. Būhler himself have all accepted the form 'Vyāsadāsa' and do not appear to have bothered about the other available form 'Vyāsadāsapara' as noted above. As is obvious, the scribe of the manuscript of Dr. Būhler's acquisition as mentioned above, was removed from the time of composition of the work concerned by about six centuries and a half. Distanced from the poet by so long a period, the scribe certainly made no unpardonable mistake, if, through sheer ignorance about Kṣemendra the man, he wrongly wrote and also meant 'Vyāsadāsapara' for Vyāsadāsa' as a name of Kṣemendra. It is also quite probable that the mistake was in the very original now unknown from which this scribe belonging to the seventeenth century copied. Nor is it unlikely that it was a careless slip, on the part of this copyist himself, which, in the colophon of the manuscript under reference, by writing 'a' (short) for an 'ā' (long) (in euphonic combination) in the supposed original, put 'Vyāsadāsaparākhya' for 'Vyāsadāsāparākhya' as an expression compounded with the name 'Kṣemen-

dra'. Whatever be that, it is no doubt a mistake and ought to be set aside as such.

In his Kashmir Report, Dr. Būhler states that the name 'Vyāsadāsa' is given in all of Kṣemendra's works except in the Kalāvilāsa.[2] While making this statement, Būhler's coffer of discoveries relating to Kṣemendra, as we know from his Report, contained the following works of Kṣemendra : (i) Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, (ii) Bhāratamañjarī, (iii) Kalāvilāsa, (iv) Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, (v) Daśāvatāracarita, (vi) Samayamātṛkā, (vii) Vyāsāṣṭaka, (viii) Suvṛttatilaka, (ix) Lokaprakāśa, and (x) Nītikalpataru.[3] Hence, in the above statement, by 'all of Kṣemendra's works', Būhler necessarily refers only to these works of Kṣemendra. Of these works, again, the Vyāsāṣṭaka as we have it in print is not a distinct composition by itself, but forms just a portion of the concluding verses of the Mahābhāratamañjarī with no mention of the poet's name separately attached to that portion only. It is, however, admitted by Dr. Būhler himself[4] that the Vyāsāṣṭaka is given at the end of the manuscript of the Bhāratamañjarī[5] which he had bought at Kashmir. But the fact remains, as the Report gives us to understand, that Kashmir furnished him also with a distinct manuscript containing separately the Vyāsāṣṭaka, though it is not definitely known whether the said manuscript had any mention of the poet as Vyāsadāsa. As regards the Kalāvilāsa, again, it must be noted that, although the available printed edition and evidently the manuscript copy of the book which Dr. Būhler states to have bought in 1873-74 at Bikaner do not mention the poet as Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa but simply as Kṣemendra, the copy discovered by Rājendralāl Mitra at Benares[6] presents a striking departure in giving, in the concluding colophon of the book, the name 'Vyāsadāsa' as a name of Kṣemendra.[7] It is note-worthy, however, that the copy mentioned above, which is dated Samvat 1821 and is in Bengali character, is obviously of a later date and cannot, therefore, be allowed to enjoy an equal share of authenticity, in so far at least as the colophon is concerned, with the other known copies of the book, which may reasonably be deemed as more faithful, genuine and dependable in this respect. Now, as things are,

the Kalāvilāsa is not the single exception where the name 'Vyāsadāsa' is not given, but the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī and the Lokaprakāśa as we have them in print are also similar cases where the name 'Vyāsadāsa' does not occur. To effect a reconciliation of this fact with Dr. Būhler's statement as recorded above it may be presumed that the particular manuscripts which Būhler had before him of the Vyāsāṣṭaka as a distinct composition, as also of the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī and the Lokaprakāśa, did actually contain the name 'Vyāsadāsa'. The presumption, so far at least as the Lokaprakāśa is concerned, might be supported by what Dr. Būhler himself says in his Kashmir Report in recording his view on the authorship of the said book; he says : "Among the Koshas the most important work is the Lokaprakāśa of Kshemendra Vyāsadāsa, Nos. 339-40, a copy of which is preserved in the Berlin library, and has been described by Professor Weber, Catalog., p. 224. I cannot agree with Professor Weber either as to the age of the book or as to its value. Kshemendra Vyāsadāsa can be no body but the poet, who wrote, as I have shown above, in the eleventh century. If the surname were not sufficient to prove this, the contents of the book would."[8] From the above statement it appears beyond the least shade of doubt that the name 'Vyāsadāsa' was actually there in the manuscript which Dr. Būhler had before him of the Lokaprakāśa. This again tends to lend support to our above presumption in respect of the other two disputed manuscripts, too.

Dr. S. K. De, in the first edition of his Sanskrit Poetics,[9] as well as in the second and revised edition of the same work,[10] in perfect harmony with what Dr. Būhler had said in 1877, opines that 'Kṣemendra's surname Vyāsadāsa is given in all his works with the exception of his Kalāvilāsa'. Dr. Būhler's position has been discussed above in the light of as much relevant materials as happened to come to his notice when he made his statement. Dr. De evidently had before him, though not at the time of publication of the first edition, yet surely when the second and revised edition of his above-mentioned book was published, all the works of Kṣemendra

that had been printed till 1960 A.D. The number of such works, if our account is true, is eighteen. The works are : (i) Mahābhāratamañjarī, (including the Vyāsāṣṭaka), (ii) Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, (iii) Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, (iv) Samayamātṛkā, (v) Suvṛttatilaka, (vi) Aucityavicāracarcā, (vii) Narmamālā, (viii) Cārucaryā, (ix) Darpadalana, (x) Sevyasevakopadeśa, (xi) Daśāvatāracarita, (xii) Nītikalpataru, (xiii) Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, (xiv) Lokaprakāśa, (xv) Deśopadeśa, (xvi) Kalāvilāsa, (xvii) Avadānakalpalatā, and (xviii) Caturvargasaṁgraha. Of these eighteen books, the first twelve mention the name 'Vyāsadāsa' and the last six do not. Kṣemendra's name 'Vyāsadāsa' is thus given in only 67 percent of his works that are available in print, and the Kalāvilāsa is not the solitary exception but is only one of the six exceptions, forming the remainder of 33 per cent of his works published till 1960 A.D., where the name 'Vyāsadāsa' is not given. This being the state of things, the opinion of Dr. De as given above can hardly be accepted without necessary modification ; and it would be proper to say, just as Le'vi also states, that the name 'Vyāsadāsa' is assigned to the poet's name in the majority of his known works.[11] Dr. Kane also remarks : "He calls himself Vyāsadāsa in almost all his works."[12]

A question extremely pertinent to the present discourse is whether the name 'Vyāsadāsa' was adopted by the poet himself or whether it was a title or appellation attached to his name in his life-time or after. From the tabular account given below,[13] it will be evident that 'Vyāsadāsa' occurs along with 'Kṣemendra' in only 16.35 or 20.18 per cent of the colophons bearing the poet's name in the eighteen printed books of Kṣemendra. Thus, while in some of the colophons under review the name 'Vyāsadāsa' is solemnly pronounced, it is conspicuous by its absence in quite a vast majority of them. Further, there is noticeable a great irregularity or lack of consistency in the manner the very name 'Kṣemendra' is mentioned in the several colophons.[14] Also, there are some colophons which exhibit wide variation in the different editions.[15] In view of this, we are led to believe that the colophons as they are in the available works of Kṣemendra are on the whole from

different pens and cannot with confidence be all assigned to the author of these works, i.e., Kṣemendra. Besides, the use of such words as 'Mahākavi', 'Vyāsarūpa', etc., as in some colophons,[16] stands by itself in opposition to any conjectured probability of such colophons having been composed by Kṣemendra himself ; for, the appellative words mentioned above, if they are believed to have been used by the poet himself, would obviously be redolent of sordid self-praise, and Kṣemendra, by his very temperament which abhors vanity and all sorts of human follies, would not certainly be indulging in any such proud and naked self-edification. Dr. V. P. Mahājan, however, seems to be of opinion that the colophons at the end of Kṣemendra's works of which the general form, according to him, is : "Iti Mahākavi-Śrī-Vyāsadāsāparākhya-Kṣemendra-kṛto Granthaḥ Samāptaḥ", were by Kṣemendra himself.[17] Kṣemendra, as Dr. Mahājan categorically remarks, "is very particular in mentioning his titles."[18] It is not known on what grounds Dr. Mahājan's contention or impression is based. No argument in support has been adduced by him. Nothing has either been said against the conceivable grounds for challenging his opinion. Hence, we find yet no reason to revise our conclusion as already arrived at in respect of the authorship of the colophons of Kṣemendra's works. Since we do not suppose that the colophons were all by Kṣemendra himself, we cannot on the basis of these colophons only, give any definite reply to the question as to whether the name under discussion, i.e., 'Vyāsadāsa', was assumed and used by the poet himself, or whether it was a title acquired by him during his life-time or after.

In the present context, it would be rather relieving to note that the name 'Vyāsadāsa' occurs not only in some of the colophons of Kṣemendra's works, but in the very body of some of the poet's works, too. The last verse of the Cārucaryā,[19] the third among the concluding verses of the Aucityavicāracarcā,[20] the thirteenth verse of the first chapter of the Daśāvatāracarita,[21] and the initial verse of the Nītikalpataru[22] mention Kṣemendra as Vyāsadāsa. Again, the last verse of the last chapter of the Daśāvatāracarita[23] mentions Vyāsadāsa as a

name (abhidhā, or abhidhāna) of Kṣemendra. Of these verses, the initial verse of the Nītikalpataru reads very much like a statement by some later author who presumably edited and enlarged the original text of Kṣemendra's Nītikalpataru and gave the book its present shape and character.[24] This verse, therefore, forfeits its claim to engage our serious attention in so far as it lacks the impress of Kṣemendra's authorship and thus fails to throw any light on the question as to whether the name 'Vyāsadāsa' was used by the poet himself. But, the other four verses mentioned above, which are no doubt by Kṣemendra himself, may be accepted as constituting a valid source wherefrom we may be permitted to conclude that the name 'Vyāsadāsa', whether it was adopted or acquired by Kṣemendra, was used with a sense of profound gratification by the poet himself[25] and was not one thrust upon his original name without his awareness or concern, or after his demise.

The question that still persists is : Was 'Vyāsadāsa' a name adopted by Kṣemendra or acquired by him ? Sylvain Le'vi thinks that the name was adopted by the poet himeslf.[26] This name had been carried before by the most famous authority of the Vaikhānasa creed.[27] The doctrine of the Vaikhānasas touches so nearly the Bhāgavatas that Wilson did not attempt to mark the difference ; the only trait peculiar to this sect is the special adoration of Nārāyaṇa.[28] Kṣemendra who converted himself to Vaiṣṇavism and accepted the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas speaks of himself as a fervent devotee of Nārāyaṇa.[29] The name of Vyāsadāsa adopted by the poet, as Le'vi contends, would be thus more a symbol of the Vaikhānasa faith than a literary title boastful and vague. Le'vi's contention is open to the following objections :

1. Kṣemendra no doubt embraced Vaiṣṇavism and accepted the Bhāgavata creed which is akin to the Vaikhānasa faith. But, Kṣemendra never betrays any bias in matters of religious faith or philosophy. He had indeed a religious bent of mind, but he was above religious sectarianism. In view of this, it would

be difficult to explain how Kṣemendra could have any urge to adopt the name of a person who was known to be an authority in some particular religious doctrine, and thereby to pledge his staunch adherence exclusively to that doctrine.

2. The name of Vyāsadāsa of the Vaikhānasa sect is associated with that of the great Advaita philosopher, Śaṅkara who, as the Śaṅkaravijaya depicts to us, had vanquished Vyāsadāsa in a doctrinal debate. It is strange indeed that in spite of this much-too-current strory of Vyāsadāsa's defeat, Kṣemendra preferred to adopt his (Vyāsadāsa's) name to indicate his special and personal devotion to the particular sect championed by Vyāsadāsa. It seems further strange that, having adopted for himself the name of this religious personality, recording thereby his particular allegiance to his sect, the hard-working Kṣemendra did not make any effort, academic or otherwise, in the direction of pursuing, explaining or propounding the doctrine for which Vyāsadāsa stood.

3. It seems rather unusual that Kṣemendra who had the true modesty and politeness of a real devotee could deem it proper to designate himself by the name of a celebrated authority and thereby necessarily to seek to figure as a man of distinct status and importance.

4. As a literary title, unlike 'Śrīkaṇṭha',[30] 'Nava-Kālidāsa',[31] 'Abhinava-Kālidāsa',[32] 'Abhinava-Bhavabhūti',[33] 'Abhinava-Vyāsa',[34] 'Vyasaśrī'[35] and many other such names,[36] the term 'Vyāsadāsa' is anything but boastful. It is neither vague. On the contrary, it is a word genuinely expressive of the poet's holy spirit of humble submission and unalloyed modesty; in its literal sense, it rightly describes the poet as the servant or disciple of Vyāsa. In an introductory verse of Lokaprakāśa, Kṣemendra is introduced expressly as

'Vyāsa's disciple'.[37] Dr. Bühler also takes the name 'Vyāsadāsa' as a significant word meaning 'pupil of Vyāsa',[38] or 'servant of Vyāsa'.[39]

Dr. Sūryakānta thinks that the title 'Vyāsadāsa' was acquired by Kṣemendra 'only when he had written the Bhāratamañjarī'.[40] He thus considers the name to be a literary title which Kṣemendra obtained as a mark of recognition of the literary services he had rendered by epitomising Vyāsa's Mahābhārata. The validity of this supposition cannot be vouchsafed unless at least it is proved that (i) the Bhāratamañjarī had been composed before all the other books of Kṣemendra containing the name 'Vyāsadāsa' (either in the colophons or in the body of the books) were composed, and that (ii) the colophons of Kṣemendra's works are a part and parcel of the poet's own composition and were not of a later date or from different pens. As regards (i), it must be noted, although the chronological lists of Kṣemendra's works as given by different scholars have all assigned the Bhāratamañjarī along with the other two Mañjarīs to the earliest period of the poet's literary career, yet those scholars are not unanimous in placing the Bhāratamañjarī at a date earlier than either the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī or the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī. Thus, according to both Pt. Madhusūdan Kaul Shāśtrī[41] and Dr. V. P. Mahājan,[42] the Bhāratamañjarī is posterior to the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī ; and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, as we know, contains the name 'Vyāsadāsa' in the colophon at the end of the book. But, according to the chronology of Kṣemendra's works as reconstructed by Dr. Sūryakānta,[43] the Bhāratamañjarī is posterior only to the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī and is thus the earliest known work of Kṣemendra having the name 'Vyāsadāsa' recorded in its colophon. This, therefore, constitutes a controversial issue which it is not easy to solve. As regards (ii), we have already registered our arguments against ascription of all the colophons of Kṣemendra's works to Kṣemendra himself. Put to such a state of uncertainty regarding the authorship and the time of composition of the several colophons, we cannot possibly use them in favour of Dr. Sūryakānta's view, without running the risk of falling into error. There is still another point to be

noted in the present context, which is as follows. Even if the last colophon of the Bhāratamañjarī, where the name 'Vyāsadāsa' occurs, is accepted as from Kṣemendra's pen, it would not of necessity indicate that the poet acquired the name 'Vyāsadāsa' only when he had written the Bhāratamañjarī, but would rather suggest that Kṣemendra had already the name 'Vyāsadāsa' before ; or, it must be said, he acquired it at least some time after he had completed the work and become famous. Dr. Sūryakānta's opinion as stated above needs reconsideration in the light of the following facts and reasons, too. We know of several poets who acquired titles of honour framed and granted by their admirers. Poet Ratnākara, for example, as is generally believed, got the title 'Vidyādhipati.'[44] A poet originally known as Śivabhaktadāsa was given the title 'Utprekṣāballabha' ;[45] the same title was also conferred on a poet named Gokula for his excellent poetry.[46] These titles are expressly eulogistic and are really titles of honour, such as may normally be awarded to poets by their admirers. But the word 'Vyāsadāsa' looks more like a benedictory, auspicious name than like a laudatory title. If it were really an acquisition by the poet for his literary success, it would not possibly have been left unnoticed at least by Kṣemendra's son, Somendra, who has given us a pretty long account of his father's life and literary achievements.[47] As we know, Kṣemendra himself notes the name 'Vyāsadāsa' very sparingly in his works (colophons excepted). Had it been a regular title acquired by him, he would possibly have taken care to mention it in a greater number of cases, at least in the autobiographical accounts left by him, for although Kṣemendra was modest by nature, he was by no means shy. Though Kṣemendra does not appear to be very much enthusiastic over this name as a title of honour, he is no doubt intensely conscious of the sanctity about it.[48] It appears that Kṣemendra is intent on cherishing this name not as any proud acquisition earned by literary performances but as a fond sacred expression embodying his devotion to Vyāsa and the solemn mission of his life to serve the cause of service to humanity on the lines of the great sage and savant, the renowned compiler of the Mahābhārata. His devotion to Vyāsa is amply revealed in his

works,[49] and his mission to live up to the standard of service set by Vyāsa is evident from the nature and extent of his literature and the prevailing tone and spirit of his literary productions.

In view of all this, we may conclude that 'Vyāsadāsa' as a name of Kṣemendra is neither a symbol of any religious faith nor a title of honour acquired by the poet for his literary merits, but a name auspicious and benedictory, fondly cherished by him throughout his life, whether it was conferred on him by some friend, relation or preceptor of his or adopted independently by the poet for himself just for the sake of recording his supreme devotion to Vyāsa as the beau ideal of his life.

From the above, it may be supposed that 'Vyāsadāsa' was originally a connotative expression attached to the poet's original name. This is also evident from the manner the word is connected with the name 'Kṣemendra' in the last verse of Cārucaryā and the first verse of Nītikalpataru. It is perhaps in a qualifying sense that 'Vyāsadāsa' is coupled with 'Kṣemendra', when the poet is called Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa by Macdonell,[50] Duff[51] and others. Dr. Mahājan calls the poet Vyāsadāsa Kṣemendra, using an expression where 'Vyāsadāsa' is obviously used to qualify 'Kṣemendra' and to distinguish the poet from other Kṣemendras. In course of time, as is but natural, the word 'Vyāsadāsa' gradually came to be recognised as a separate and independent name of the poet. Thus it is not, as Būhler, Le'vi, De, Krishṇamāchāriār and many others think ti to be, a surname (*upanāman*) of Kṣemendra. It is, in fact, as is also expressly stated in the colophons of Kṣemendra's works and elsewhere, the *aparanāman,* i.e., the second or secondary name of the poet. In the Catalogus Catalogorum, Dr. Aufrecht notes the name of Kṣemendra thus : "Kṣemendra also Vyāsadāsa"[53] Dr. Mahājan, in the Introduction to his edition of the Nītikalpataru, notes the poet's name in a similar fashion : "Kṣemendra alias Vyāsadāsa".[54] In the Introduction to the Sūktimuktāvalī edited by Embar Krishṇamāchārya, there is a similar statement which runs as follows : "Vyāsadāsa Ityaparaṁ Cāsya Nāma". The above authorities, therefore,

appear to have taken care to indicate Vyāsadāsa as the second or secondary name of Kṣemendra. It is noteworthy that in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī we have quotations from Kṣemendra and Vyāsadāsa separately. It is not known whether the compiler knew that 'Vyāsadāsa' was another name of Kṣemendra. It is probable, as Prof. Peterson thinks,[54] that the compiler quotes the two, 'perhaps thinking them to be one, perhaps, knowing them to be one'.[55] It may be mentioned in this connection that the compiler in an identical manner quotes Ratnākara and Vidyādhipati separately ; and these two names, as we know, denote the same person, while the latter name was originally a title acquired by Ratnākara. Whether we do or do not believe in the possibility that the compiler, while quoting Kṣemendra and Vyāsadāsa separately, was fully aware that these two names meant the same man, it is indeed too clear a fact to be ignored or questioned that 'Vyāsadāsa' as a name gained as much currency and popularity as the original name of the poet, i.e., 'Kṣemendra'.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that 'Vyāsadāsa' was perhaps not the only other name of Kṣemendra. In the last verse of the last chapter of Daśāvatāracarita Kṣemendra refers to himself as 'Śrī-Vyāsadāsānyatamābhidha (—bhidhāna)'. The word 'anyatama' in the above expression is significant ; it means 'one of many', so that, on his own admission, Kṣemendra had at least one other secondary name in addition to 'Vyāsadāsa'. If, however, he had only two names altogether including the name 'Kṣemendra', he could certainly have used, without prejudice to the metrical order, the word 'anyatara' instead of 'anyatama' in the expression under reference. Of course, it must be confessed, we are still unaware of any other additional name than 'Vyāsadāsa', which the poet had probably possessed.

CHAPTER THREE

HIS DATE, CAREER AND HOME

It is indeed unfortunate that what fragments are still preserved for us of the vast lore of the Indian genius, which profusely expressed itself through the ages in myriad-fold works of art, literature and philosophy, do not for the most part of them provide any austensible account about the life and personality of their great authors. Scores of Indian savants of far-spread repute are thus unfortunately mostly dream-land figures to us. This is a fact which invariably confronts and very often frustrates our attempt by the application of the modern method of criticism to make a scientific estimate of our proud heritage. The silence of most of our Indian writers about themselves and of critics and commentators about their authors' life and personality betrays no doubt a lack of interest on their part in matters of chronology and biographical account, which, whatever the reasons, seems to characterise the ancient Indian mind as a whole. It is, however, a curious phenomenon which has seized the attention of Orientologists that in sharp contradistinction to this apparent indifference of the ancient Indian people in general to History in a strictly modern sense of the term, there can be noticed in the land of Kashmir a traditional love for matters of history as such, and other things of kindred nature. It is evidently a cognizance, peculiar to the Kashmirian genius, of the importance of historical outlook and equipment in understanding a country and its culture, that not only brought forth a series of Chroniclers even before Kalhaṇa, but also, if we are permitted so to presume, prompted the Kashmirian savants as a class to record in most of their compositions at least some useful information regarding themselves.[1] It is significant that even a profound philosopher and devout Yogin of Abhinavagupta's stature did not avoid affording valuable autobiographical notes for his readers.[2] Our poet Kṣemendra also "was not a man to hide his light under a

bushel, and he has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time".[3] Useful information regarding the life and parentage of our great author is also available in his son Somendra's account in the Avadānakalpalatā. With the help of these materials, in particular, it has been possible for us to prepare a brief but faithful sketch of Kṣemendra's life and presonality.

Kṣemendra had long been enshrined in darkness figuring in the domain of literature as a name only until in 1871 Burnell announced his discovery in the palace of Tanjore of a manuscript of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra.[4] A series of uninterrupted discoveries that followed allowed scholars for the first time to restore the man and the poet. Immediately after Burnell, Dr. G. Bühler discovered another manuscript of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī in Gujarat[5], and the following year he published his article entitled "On the V(B?)ṛhatkathā of Kshemendra"[6] containing his remarks and hypothesis on the author and his date. The following extract[7] from Bühler's article embodies the beginning of search for ascertaining the period of Kṣemendra's life and literary activity :

> "Though Kshemendra is fuller in his statements about himself than Sanskrit poets usually are, still it is difficult to fix his age even approximately. His V(B ?) ṛhatkathā is quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Mudrārākshasa. If we could trust the quotation in Dhanika's Avaloka, we should obtain a respectable age for Kshemendra. For, as Dhanika lived under Muñja, it would follow that Kshemendra lived not later than in the beginning of the 10th century. But unfortunately, the passage of the Avaloka in which the quotation occurs, is given by only one of Dr. Hall's MSS. The other two omit these verses. It may therefore be an interpolation. The quotation by Dhuṇḍhirāja and another in Śārṅgadharapaddhati do not carry us beyond the 14th century. None of the personages mentioned by Kshemendra are known except his teacher Abhinavagupta. The latter is cited as an authority on Alaṅkāra by Mallinātha and Mammaṭa and Śārṅgadeva.

He therefore appears to have been known in the 12th century."

The above extract obviously presents a vain but honest attempt by Bühler to determine the age of Kṣemendra. With the scanty information which the learned scholar had at his disposal at the time of writing the abovementioned article, it was evidently not possible for him to get at a more exact and accurate hypothesis regarding the poet's age than to place him somewhere within a range of about two centuries from about the beginning of the 10th to the 12th century. A few years after, and finally in the year 1877 A.D., when some more works of Kṣemendra, Abhinava and other scholars had been discovered removing to a great extent the cover of darkness looming large until then over the history of our poet, Bühler was able to declare that Kṣemendra lived in the 11th century A.D.[8] Le'vi in 1885 expressed the same opinion.[9] Peterson in 1886 pronounced his agreement with Bühler.[10] S. C. Das in 1888 observed : "According to them[11] Kṣemendra lived in the beginning of the 11th century A.D., when Kashmir was ruled by King Ananta Deva".[12] All other scholars have subscribed to this view.[13]

Pt. Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī opines that Kṣemendra was born after 990 A.D. and died after 1065 A.D.[14] Dr. Sūryakānta suggesting a lower limit for each likes to fix the date of his birth somewhere between 990 A.D. and 1010 A.D.[15] and the date of his death between 1065 A.D. and 1070 A.D.[16] Dr. P. L. Vaidya says : "Dr. Sūryakānta thinks that Kṣemendra may have been born about A.D. 990—1000."[17] Although the above statement does not give exactly Dr. Sūryakānta's view on the point in question, yet it seems that Dr. Vaidya is inclined to place the date of Kṣemendra's birth somewhere between 990 A.D. and 1000 A.D., on a supposed authority of Sūryakānta. According to Dr. Vaidya, "it is also likely that Kṣemendra may have died soon after A.D. 1066."[18] According to Dr. V. P. Mahājan, Kṣemendra's life extended from 990 A.D. to 1070 A.D. approximately.[19] In the opinion of Dr. A. Sharmā, again, Kṣemendra may be assigned roughly to the first

quarter of the 11th century and his career to the second and the third quarter of the 11th century.[20] All these scholars, therefore, though not precisely definite or exactly identical in their views regarding the dates of Kṣemendra's birth and death, have nevertheless been able to postulate a hypothesis confining Kṣemendra's span of life within the limits of the last decade of the 10th and the close of the third quarter of the 11th century.

As for the date of Kṣemendra's birth, some scholars have found it convenient to base their conjecture on an internal evidence, i.e., on a verse by the poet himself, which reads as follows :

> Śrutvābhinavaguptākhyāt
>   Sāhityaṁ Bodha-vāridheḥ /
> Ācāryaśekharamaṇer-
>   Vidyā-vivṛti-kāriṇaḥ / /

The above verse occurs in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī[21] and, with the halves transposed, in the Bhāratamañjarī[22] also. Pt. Kaul who seems to be a pioneer in the matter of making a drive towards marking with exactitude the limits of Kṣemendra's life arrives at his conclusion regarding the date of the poet's birth in the following manner and on the basis of the above-quoted verse which he interprets thus :

> "Kshemendra in his Bhāratamañjarī says that he studied Sāhitya with Abhinavagupta, author of the Vidyāvivriti or the Pratyabhijñā-vrihatī-vimarśinī. Abhinavagupta wrote his bigger commentary on the Pratyabhijñā Darśana in 1014 A.D. To consider Kshemendra fit enough for studying and not reading merely the science of Rhetoric with Abhinavagupta and to have general acquaintance with the literature of the day, it is reasonable to conjecture that Kshemendra might have been by that time about 25 years old. On the above hypothesis and the supposition that he studied with Abhinavagupta just after the latter completed his Vidyāvivriti, the lowest limit for the date of Kshemendra's birth must be found somewhere after 990 A.D."[23]

Kaul's contention, as is but obvious, hinges primarily on the meaning assigned by him to the word 'Vidyā-vivṛti' occurring in the verse quoted above. He has taken the word to mean Abhinavagupta's work, Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-bṛhatī-vimarśinī, also called Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vivṛti-vimarśinī, a commentary on Utpala's own Vivṛti on his Īśvara-pratyabhijñā. But no evidence has been adduced by Kaul in support of the meaning assigned by him to the word 'Vidyā-vivṛti'. It is to be noticed that both Dr. Sūryakānta[24] and Dr. Mahājan[25] have similarly meant the same thing by the word in question, without mentioning the source wherefrom they might have derived the said meaning. It is not unlikely that they followed Pt. Kaul and simply repeated Kaul's belief as their own. Whatever that might be, it is rather strange how, when and whence the bigger commentary by Abhinavagupta on Utpala's own Vivṛti on Īśvarapratyabhijña came to be known as 'Vīdyā-vivṛti'. We must confess that no indication could be gathered anywhere, whereby we might be obliged to agree with Pt. Kaul, Dr. Sūryakānta and Dr. Mahājan in accepting the denotation which they have assigned, apparently in a spirit of profound confidence, to the word 'Vidyā-vivṛti' occurring in the verse under discussion. Nor is it known if there was any other work by Abhinava, which had the name 'Vidyā-vivṛti'. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, we cannot help standing apart from the abovenamed scholars and maintaining that the meaning which has been assigned by them to the word 'Vidyā-vivṛti' is hardly tenable. The following considerations also constitute a potent obstacle to the supposition in favour of assigning to the word 'Vidyā-vivṛti' the denotation of 'Abhinavagupta's Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-bṛatī (vivṛti)-vimarśinī' :

(1) It is not understood why Kṣemendra, while naming Abhinavagupta as his teacher in *literature* would refrain from referring to his teacher's famous achievements in literature, and prefer, on the contrary, to pronounce rather incosistently only the name of one of his *philosophical* works. Abhinavagupta, as we know, has to his credit epoch-making works in Poetics and Dramaturgy. His Kāvya-

kautukavivaraṇa, Dhvanyālokalocana and Abhinavabhāratī have decidedly earned him a fame that will never die. These three works had been composed by Abhinava long before he wrote his Pratyabhijñābṛhatī (vivṛti)-vimarśinī which work probably belongs to the third and last period of his literary activity and is considered to be the penultimate of his known works. If, therefore, according to the interpretation of Pt. Kaul and others, as already mentioned, Kṣemendra read Sāhitya with Abhinava after the latter had composed the Pratyabhijñābṛhatī (vivṛti)-vimarśinī, he (i.e. Kṣemendra), it must be admitted, was certainly at that time in the know of Abhinavagupta's works in Sāhitya as mentioned above. Hence, there is no excuse which can be offered to explain Kṣemendra's silence on these literary works vis-a'-vis his eloquence in mentioning specifically, as Pt. Kaul and others think he has done, a particular philosophical work of his teacher in literature, except that Kṣemendra was careless and capricious having little regard for the value of propriety and relevancy even while recording an important information, but which, we must opine, does not seem to be an acceptable proposition.

(2) What interested Kṣemendra was literature and no other philosophy than the philosophy of Poetics. This is but evident from the nature and the volume of his whole life's output, as also from the fact that he read Sāhitya and probably no other subject with Abhinava, although the latter was a past master in Darśana as well. Having, as he did, manifestly no personal interest in or access to the philosophical studies in which Abhinavagupta revelled, Kṣemendra could normally have no urge to mention a philosophical treatise only to the credit of his teacher.

(3) It cannot be argued that the supposed mention by Kṣemendra of the Pratyabhijñā-bṛhatī (vivṛti)-vimarśinī in the verse under discussion is amply justified in being consistent with the sense of reverence which Kṣemendra obviously seeks to reveal there for Abhinavagupta whom he describes as 'the Ocean of wisdom' (bodha-vāridhi) and 'the crest-gem of teachers' (ācārya-śekhara-maṇi) ; for, the commentary in question, though undoubtedly a very important work, is not, either by itself or as a representative work, the only book to which Abhinavagupta owes the respect due to him. This work is just one of the many works dealing with diverse subjects which have collectively given Abhinava his full weight and dimension deserving of such admiration as is couched in Kṣemendra's expressions of reverence noted above. If Kṣemendra had intended to indicate the depth and width of Abhinavagupta's learning by referring to his contributions, he would not have mentioned the name of only one of his many works but would at least have left along with it some indication to show that the great scholar had written many other works also.

(4) In the opinion of Dr. Pāṇḍey, Abhinavagupta lived from about the middle of the 10th century to about the close of the first quarter of the 11th century A.D.[26] The period of Abhinava's literary activity, according to Pāṇḍey, extended from 990-1 A.D. to 1014-15 A.D.[27] Sūryakānta agrees with Pāṇḍey on this point.[28] According to Winternitz[29] and Kane,[30] however, Abhinava's career covered the period from about 980 to about 1020 A.D. As we are told, 'the Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī is the penultimate of Abhinava's known works. There is only one work, namely, the Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī, which, on the authority of the Bhāskarī, we know for certain to be posterior to it. How many

more works he wrote thereafter, whether he wrote any at all, we have at present no authority to say.[31] It is probable, therefore, that Abhinava composed his Pratyabhijñā-bṛhatī (vivṛti)-vimarśinī not long before 1015 or 1020 A.D. If the word 'Vidyā-vivṛti' is taken to mean the work just mentioned, the verse under discussion would necessarily lead us to suppose that Kṣemendra studied Sāhitya under Abhinava after the latter had completed the said work some time about 1015 or 1020 A.D. Thus, as Dr. Kane also believes,[32] Kṣemendra's contact with Abhinava, in the light of the above supposition, must have been towards the close of the latter's life. But, in the closing years of his career, Abhinava is believed to have concentrated his energy on philosophy and spiritualism. So it is rather difficult to give full credence to the supposed probability that Abhinava had been a teacher of Sāhitya also till the close of his long life and had the time and opportunity to impart an effective education in the subject to the young Kṣemendra so that the latter remembered it even long after and recorded his deep appreciation of his master in the manner he has done in the verse in question.

In view of the above, we cannot accept the meaning that has been assigned to the word 'Vidyā-vivṛti' by Pt. Kaul, Dr. Sūryakānta and Dr. Mahājan. With the basis of their argument thus put to question, their conclusion in respect of Kṣemendra's date of birth, which is founded on the said argument, necessarily becomes a matter of doubt and uncertainty. Further, the presumption that Kṣemendra might have been about twenty-five years of age and was neither much younger nor much older when he studied Rhetoric with Abhinavagupta cannot be regarded as sufficiently strong and valid so as to permit a vital consideration like the one in question. It may be pointed out in this connection that Dr. Sūryakānta, while proposing his agreement with Pt. Kaul

regarding the latter's grounds and mode of argument as discussed above, obviously makes a confusing statement in the following words : "To allow a period long enough for the poet to be able to study rhetoric and have general acquaintance with the existing literature, we may, with Mr. Madhusudan Kaul, say that he was nearly twenty-five years of age, when he wrote the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī."[33] In fact, according to Pt. Kaul, as we have already noticed, Kṣemendra might have been twenty-five years old when he studied Rhetoric with Abhinavagupta ; but, Kaul does not say anything clearly about the poet's probable age at the time of his writing the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī. He is however, of opinion that the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī is chronologically the first of Kṣemendra's known works and is the product of his period of literary apprenticeship which begins just after completion of his higher studies with Abhinavagupta. Pt. Kaul, again, believes that Kṣemendra studied under Abhinavagupta at about 1014 A.D. The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, as some scholars opine, was finished in 1037 A.D. So, ultimately, we come to this that Kṣemendra's period of apprenticeship covers a span of about twenty-two years (from about 1015 A.D. to 1037 A.D.) and that it took the poet nearly a quarter of a century to produce the Bṛhatkathāmañjari. But this obviously forfeits its minimum claim to be treated as a provisional assumption. Switching over to Dr. Sūryakānta's statement as quoted above, we find that it also constitutes self-contradiction ; for, in the statement just previous to it, Dr. Sūryakānta, following his interpretation of the word 'Vidyāvivṛti' in the verse discussed above and noting the date of composition of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, remarks that "Kṣemendra studied under Abhinavagupta after or about 1014 A.D. and long before his Bṛhatkathāmañjarī was written".[34] Dr. Mahājan has taken note of the fact that according to Dr.Sūryakānta Kṣemendra was twenty-five years of age when he composed the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, and has said that this places the date of the poet's birth at about 1010 A.D.[35] In fact, according to Dr. Sūryakānta's statement as reviewed above, Kṣemendra's date of birth is to be placed at about 990 A.D. or 1012 A.D. according as the date of his undertaking the composition of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī or that of his finishing the work is

taken to be the point of time when, according to the learned scholar, the poet might have been about twenty five years of age.

In our opinion, the word 'Vidyā-vivṛtikāriṇaḥ' as it occurs in the verse under discussion should preferably be taken in its literal sense. We may take 'Vidyā' to mean knowledge or learning in general and 'vivṛti' the act of expounding and explaining it. The word, as referring to Abhinavagupta, would then be an appropriate epithet rightly describing him as the expounder of the various branches of learning. This meaning would also fit in perfectly well with Kṣemendra's spirit of reverence as manifest in the verse in question for Abhinava as a sound all-round scholar and teacher.

The above meaning accepted, there remains no solid ground for determining the exact period when Kṣemendra might have studied under Abhinavagupta. Whether the period is between 1014 and 1020 A.D. or between 1001 and 1014 A.D., or whether it may be assigned to a still earlier date is a question upon which the final word cannot be said from any direct evidence in the present state of our knowledge. Hence, the date of Kṣemendra's birth cannot also be affirmed merely on the evidence as contained in the verse in question of Kṣemendra's association as a student with Abhinavagupta. It would perhaps not be quite an illegitimate supposition if we think that Kṣemendra read Sāhitya with Abhinava sometime in the beginning of the 11th century A.D., say, about 1010 A.D., when the latter had already established his reputation as an authority in Sāhitya. On the above supposition the date of Kṣemendra's birth may be placed somewhere about the last decade of the 10th century A.D. From this, again, it will follow that Kṣemendra died at a ripe old age of about eighty, for we may be permitted to assume that Kṣemendra died about 1070 A.D. and did not live long after 1065-6 A.D., the date of completion of his last known work, the Daśāvatāracarita. To push the hypothetical date of Kṣemendra's death further down beyond 1070 A.D. would only mean a longer period of intellectual prostration for Kṣemendra, which we are loath to acknowledge on the presumption that a zealous and indus-

trious poet which Kṣemendra evidently was could not possibly have a prolonged existence completely dark and abortive. If we are allowed to suppose that Kṣemendra died an octogenerian about the year 1070 A.D., the date of his birth may be placed at about 990 A.D. To push the hypothetical date of his birth further up would in that case mean for the poet a period of more than four score years of life, which is admittedly a very rare phenomenon especially with hardworking intellectuals. Further, if we place the date of his birth at a time considerably earlier than 990 A.D., say, at about 980 A.D., it would mean that Kṣemendra composed his Daśāvatāracarita at the age of about eighty-six and the Cārucaryāśataka, chronologically posterior, according to Pt. Kaul, to the Daśāvatāracarita, when he was still older. The scheme and the manner of execution of these works bear clear stamp of unimpaired mental freshness, vigour and vivacity of idea and imagination. But, such a thing is rarely co-existent with an age verging on ninety. Besides, if it is supposed that Kṣemendra was born at about 980 A.D. and that the ambitious poet started his literary career right in the beginning of the 11h century when he must have been over twenty years of age, it must be acknowledged that an unusually long period had since elapsed before Kṣemendra finished his Bṛhatkathāmañjarī in 1037 A.D., and in that case, it would be a problem for us to explain why the industrious poet in this long span could not yield more than what has been assigned by scholars to the period in question. Viewing the issue from the above angles, it appears to be well nigh binding upon us not to assign the date of his birth to a time much earlier than 990 A.D. Again, if we assume that Kṣemendra was born about the close of the 10th century, i.e., at about 1000 A.D., we would invariably find ourselves confronted with the question of material validity in respect of the inevitable deduction that Kṣemendra studied Sāhitya under Abhinava, while the poet was yet within his teens, if not younger still, and no normal judgment would guarantee the material legitimacy of such deduction. In this connection it may be pointed out that Dr. Sūryakānta who proposes to place the date of Kṣemendra's birth somewhere between 990 A.D. and 1010 A.D.

apparently fixes the lower limit for the date at 1010 A.D.; but to maintain that Kṣemendra was born about 1010 A.D. is tantamount to admitting that the poet studied under Abhinava when he was a mere child, but that would be almost an absurdity. Thus Kṣemendra's birth cannot be assigned to a date much later than 990 A.D.

Hence, to conclude, Kṣemendra seems to have been born neither much earlier nor much later than 990 A.D., and this date, i.e., 990 A.D. may, therefore, provisionally be supposed to be the approximate date of Kṣemendra's birth, until concrete evidence is available either to corroborate or to contradict it. We feel happy that inspite of our difference as stated above from Pt. Kaul and others regarding the mode of argument followed and the interpretation of the evidence utilised in determining the date of Kṣemendra, we have arrived at a date generally agreed upon by all of these learned scholars.

Although Dr. Bühler originally believed that Kṣemendra wrote from 1020 to 1040 A.D.,[36] he subsequently maintained that the poet's literary activity lay in the second and the third quarter of the eleventh century.[37] Prof. Peterson, on the authority of Dr. Bühler's revised opinion, holds the same view.[38] The opinion has received the concurrence of Dr. Sūryakānta[39] and Dr. A. Śarmā[40] also. Dr. Sūryakānta, however, on the evidence of the earliest and the latest date in Kṣemendra's works is more specific on this point, for he says: "......the period of his literary activity falls roughly between 1037 and 1066 A.D."[41]

Pt. Kaul observes: "His literary career, so far as his mention of King Ananta Deva is concerned, begins from before the reign of Ananta Deva (1028 A.D.)".[42] According to Sylvain Le'vi,[43] Kṣemendra's literary career began under the rule of Ananta, was prolonged and came to an end under his son Kalaśa, so that, in the opinion of the learned scholar, Kṣemendra started his literary career

not earlier than 1028 A.D., the date of Ananta's installation to the throne. Although in one place[44] Dr. Kane says that Kṣemendra's literary activity falls in the second and the third quarter of the 11th century, he elsewhere[45] specifically gives the dates 1030 and 1070 A.D. as the terminii of the poet's literary career. Dr. Mahājan opines that the period of Kṣemendra's literary activity lies between 1010 and 1066 A.D., and the beginning of his career between 1010 and 1015 A.D..[46]. As discussed already by us, Kṣemendra did not perhaps live long after 1066 A.D., and his death which probably occurred about 1070 A.D., gives the terminus ad quem for Kṣemendra's literary career. The beginning of his career as a full-fledged student of literature may be assigned to the first decade of the 11th century. It may be supposed that Kṣmendra was a student under Abhinava at about 1010 A.D. when the former probably was a pretty young man of about twenty and the latter, ripe with age and wisdom, had already established himself as an authority in Sāhitya and was far high in the ascending scale of his glory as a teacher and a versatile scholar. It may also legitimately be supposed that Kṣemendra's active literary life started soon after, if not simultaneously with, his career as a student under Abhinava. As Pt. Kaul says, "the period of his apprenticeship begins just after he completed his course of higher studies under Abhinavagupta."[47] As is evident from the record of his contributions to literature, Poet Kṣemendra was by no means an upstart, nor was his culture of Poetry the product of a sudden feat of emotion ; Poetry was the mission of his life, not a luxury or a pastime, and he apparently spared no pains to cultivate it in its fullest possible form and spirit and to the greatest benefit of his students and the people at large. It would not, therefore, be proper to conjecture that Kṣemendra took to writing poetry at an advanced age and that the year 1037 A.D., the supposed date of completion of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, marks the beginning of his literary activity. The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī with all the defects and limitations alleged against it does not appear to be the work of a novice and cannot be regarded as Kṣemendra's maiden work. Besides, from a statement[48] in the Upasaṁhāra of the said work, it

is crystal-clear that Kṣemendra had been already famous as a scholar and poet even before the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī was composed. A word of caution is perhaps necessary against such probable interpretation of the statement in question as might wongly ascribe the said reputation of Kṣemendra to the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī itself and deny any earlier achievements to the credit of the poet. The illegitimacy of the apprehended interpretation as indicated above will be apparent from the order and the contents of the individual verses of the Upasaṁhāra where the statement occurs. The first five verses (i.e., nos. 31-35) give an account of Kṣemendra's father. In the verse just following (i.e., no. 36), Kṣemendra introduces himself as the son of his great father and as one who has earned reputation among scholars and poets. In verse no. 37, the poet recounts his association with Abhinava, his teacher in Sāhitya ; and in verse no. 38, he speaks of Soma who is supposed to have converted him to the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata faith ; in the verses that follow he gives an account of the context of composition of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī. From the above it appears that the completion of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī has no necessary bearing on Kṣemendra's earlier reputation as a scholar and poet, which was apparently an accomplished fact even before the composition of the said work was undertaken by him. According to Dr. Sūryakānta, "the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī is definitely later than the other two Mañjarīs".[49] This view accepted would evidently provide reasons of fact corroborating our above contention which would otherwise have to stand on purely formal reasoning. It may be noticed in this connection that in the concluding portion of the Mahābhāratamañjarī, just following the Harivaṁśa, there is a verse[50] almost identical to the one (v. 36) in the Upasaṁhāra of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, as mentioned above, describing Kṣemendra as an established poet. Taking cognizance of all this, we cannot but agree to allow the poet the adequate time necessary for his attaining to the position of honour as referred to above ; and this supports our disinclination to accept the supposition that Kṣemendra's literary activity began, as Dr. Sūryakānta thinks, as late as 1037 A.D., or, as Dr. Kane believes, in the year 1030 A.D., or, again, as Prof. Le'vi

opines, about 1028 A.D., at the earliest. We are inclined to believe that Kṣemendra's activity in the field of literature had been in process since a much earlier time. In view of this and also of the supposed fact that Kṣemendra, who was a student under Abhinava probably about 1010 A.D., took the earliest opportunity, after obtaining the preliminary academic equipment, to throw himself into the task of actively cultivating the literary art, we may fix the date of commencement of his literary activity near about 1015 A.D. and suppose that Kṣemendra's emergence as a full-fledged poet probably took place about 1020 A.D. and that his active literary career extended up to a date not much later than 1066 A.D.

Born in Kashmir, Kṣemendra appears to have lived all his life in the land of his birth—says Prof. Le'vi.[51] Dr. P. L. Vaidya also expressly states that Kashmir is the birth-place of Kṣemendra.[52] Evidences are not rare to show that Kṣemendra belonged to Kashmir, the land of his forefathers, and that the scene of his literary activity lay in this beautiful Valley. Although there is no positive evidence to prove the hypothesis that he was born in Kashmir or that he never went abroad, the extreme likelihood of the first hypothesis cannot be denied ; as regards the second one, nothing can be said definitely. Pt. Kaul, however, is inclined to believe that 'he (Kṣemendra) was a great traveller'.[53]

Kṣemendra was fully conscious of the grace and glory of Kashmir. He pays tribute to his motherland in a verse of the Narmamālā, which is as follows :

Asti svastimatāmagryaṁ
maṇḍitaṁ budhamaṇḍalaiḥ /
Khaṇḍitākhaṇḍalāvāsa
-darpaṁ Kaśmīramaṇḍalam / /[54]

[There is a maṇḍala, called Kaśmīra, the foremost of blessed places, which is graced by galaxies of wise

men and which put down the pride of the abode of Indra.]

Here we may also quote the following verses[55] embodying the poet's feeling of love and reverence for Kashmir :

Vitastetyasti tatinī mokṣaśrīhāravallarī /
Riṅgat-taraṅga-bhrūbhaṅgaistarjayantīva kalmaṣam //
Tayāsti lolalaharīkṣālyamānarajovrajam /
Kāśmīramaṇḍalaṁ nāma maṇḍalaṁ sarvasampadām //
Yasminnārīkapoleṣu kāntikallolitormiṣu /
Bimbāgataḥ śaśī dhatte sudhāgarbhamukhaṁ punaḥ //
Tīkṣṇaṁ tapati noṣṇāṁśuḥ karaiḥ kusumakomalaiḥ /
Tvaṣṭreva yatra lāvaṇyanavanītena nirmitaḥ / /
Sūktārpitāraṇat-tārahāranūpuramekhalā /
Nṛtyatīva kavīndrāṇāṁ yatra vaktre Sarasvatī //[56]

[There is a river, Vitastā by name, the necklace of the goddess of the wealth of salvation, reproaching the evil, as it were, by frowns in the form of rolling waves.

There lies the maṇḍala, called Kāśmīra, the repository of all prosperity, having its multitude of dust washed off by that (river) with her restless billowy waters. There, reflected in the women's cheeks with the surging wave of grace gliding over, the moon puts up anew its face laden with ambrosia.

There the hot-rayed (sun), with rays as tender as flowers, manufactured, as it were, by Tvaṣṭṛ (the divine artisan) with the butter of gracefulness, does not give out scorching beams of light.

There does Sarasvatī play, as it were, in a dancing feat in the mouth of eminent poets whose good sayings have

provided her with pearl-necklace, anklet and girdle emitting loud jingling sound.]

It may be mentioned in this connection that we have hymns in praise of Kashmir from the pen of two other famous poets of the Valley. These two poets are Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa. Bilhaṇa was a junior contemporary of Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa belonged to a much later date. Both these poets have extolled Kashmir for its wealth of holy natural beauty, its material prosperity and its exalted status in the field of letters as well as for the exquisite, charming qualities of its women-folk.[57] They have left for us a fairly elaborate resume′ of the grace and grandeur of their motherland, Kashmir. Kṣemendra's description of Kashmir which comprises only a few verses occurring in different contexts is necessarily characterised by balance and precision with the usual impassioned spirit of a hymnist put under control ; but, nevertheless, it puts forth elegantly most of the striking features of Kashmir acclaimed as well by other poets ; and Kṣemendra's expressions of praise, though brief and restrained, rightly bespeak the poet's genuineness of appreciation and a warm patriotic feeling which was evidently ingrained in his character.

Mr. Nagendranāth Vasu in his Viśvakoṣa[58] says that Kṣemendra was born in Tripuraśailaśikhara of Kashmir ; but no source has been cited by Mr. Vasu for the information given. Dr. K. C. Pāṇḍey writes : "Kṣemendra states Tripureśaśaila as his place of residence in one of the concluding lines in his Mahābhārata-Mañjarī :—'Prakhyātātiśayasya tasya tanayaḥ Kṣemendra-nāmā-bhavat, Tena Śrī-Tripureśaśailaśikhare viśrāntisantoṣiṇā'."[59] It is to be noted that the above two feet as quoted by Dr. Pāṇḍey are traceable not in the Mahābhāratamañjarī but in the Daśāvatāracarita as available to us, where they occur as the fourth foot of the second and the first foot of the third concluding verse respectively. It is perhaps on account of this mistake in tracing the source of the extract in question that Dr. Pāṇḍey has been led to interpret the said extract to indicate that Tripureśaśaila was Kṣmendra's usual place of residence ; for, the Mahābhāratamañjarī

was one of the poet's earliest compositions, and the mention of Tripureśaśaila as the place of composition of the said book where the extract under reference is wrongly supposed to occur would naturally suggest that the place in question had been Kṣemendra's usual place of residence since his very early years. The Daśāvatāracarita where actually the above extract appears to occur was, as we know, composed by Kṣemendra in his old age ; and in the verse containing the extract in question the poet mentions Tripureśaśaila as a place where he had the pleasure of repose (viśrāntisantoṣiṇā) at the time of composition of the work. It appears, therefore, that Tripureśaśaila was a place where the poet spent the concluding period of his life and enjoyed calm respite earned by years of hard toil in the literary field. We have, in fact, no evidence to prove that Tripureśaśaila was his birth-place or his usual place of residence since the prime of his life. As regards Kṣemendra's association with this place, Pt. Kaul observes : "His death seems to have taken place after 1065 A.D., because he retired from the world and probably lived in hermitage and breathed his last there on the Tripureśa mountain where he wrote the Daśāvatāracarita in the reign of Kalaśa in the Laukika year 4141 or 1065 A.D."[60] The position of Tripureśa (or Tripureśvara) can be fixed near the modern village of Triphar, at a distance of about three miles from the Dāl. Tripureśvara is mentioned as a site of great sanctity by Kalhaṇa. It is referred to in the Nīlamata-purāṇa and some older Māhātmyas, too.[61]

CHAPTER FOUR

HIS FAMILY

Prof. Le'vi aptly observes : 'By a privilege, unfortunately very rare in the history of Sanskrit literature, the family of Kṣemendra participated in the immortality of the poet.'[1] Kṣemendra has left some useful information about his ancestry in some of his notable works, viz., Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, Mahābhāratamañjarī, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Aucityavicāracarcā and Daśāvatāracarita. Kṣemendra's son Somendra also has given an account of the poet's genealogy in his Introduction to the Avadānakalpalatā. From the above sources we gather that Kṣemendra's father was Prakāśendra, grandfather Sindhu, and great grandfather Bhogīndra. We are also told of one Narendra, a forefather of Kṣemendra ; the names or the number of descendants between Narendra and Bhogīndra is not known to us.

Narendra was a minister to king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir. There are two Jayāpīḍas mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. One was Jayasiṁha's son. Jayasiṁha whose date of birth may be fixed at Lokakāla 4181, A.D. 1105-6, ascended the throne in 1128 A.D. ; he had five sons from Rāḍḍā-devī, of whom Jayāpīḍa was one. Chronology obviously does not admit of identification of this Jayāpīḍa with the king under whom Narendra served. The other Jayāpīḍa was the famous grandson of the great king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and the youngest son of Bāppiya or Vajrāditya. He ruled over Kashmir in the latter half of the eighth century, and his career is described in Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, verses 402 to 657. Probably it was this Jayāpīḍa to whom Narendra was a minister. Kalhaṇa has mentioned the following ministers of Jayāpīḍa : (i) Devaśarman, (ii) Śukradanta, (iii) Thākkiya (probably a minister, attached to the king), (iv) Vāmana and others, (v) Jayadatta, and (vi) Śivadāsa (probably a

minister or almost equal, a finance officer). Thus we see that the name of Narendra is not included in the list of Jayāpīḍa's ministers as given by Kalhaṇa. This has led Dr. Sūryakānta to conclude that "Narendra held some unimportant office, and was perhaps one of the many ministers."[2] Whatever that might be, it was certainly a great interest, a proud pleasure for Somendra to record the connection of his line with king Jayāpīḍa; and so he rightly made a respectful mention of his forefather Narendra, describing him as a minister of the said illustrious king of Kashmir. Narendra is characterised as one of pure intellect (sumati); this shows that he had the basic quality of a minister.

Kṣemendra's great grandfather, Bhogīndra has been described by Somendra as the abode of strength (sattvanidhi).[3] Somendra further describes him as one having immense pleasures to enjoy (bhogavān) and compares him with the lord of serpents (bhogīndra iva) having a huge body or a wide hood (bhogavān). Dr. Sūryakānta[4] and Dr. P. L. Vaidya[5] call him 'Bhogendra'. But, Somendra's account as it is in the available editions of the Avadānakalpalatā gives clearly the name 'Bhogīndra' and not 'Bhogendra'. It may be mentioned here that Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstrī[6] and Dr. V. P. Mahājan[7] have both given the name 'Bhogīndra', without questioning its genuineness or suggesting a variant. The simile coupled with play upon words as employed by Somendra in the relevant verse[8] in describing Kṣemendra's great grandfather obviously owes its beauty and significance to the particular name-form 'Bhogīndra'. A vital peculiarity of the rhetorical device used here is that the *upameya* and the *upamāna* are words identical in form, having different meanings; and this peculiarity is altogether lost if we read 'Bhogendra' for 'Bhogīndra'. The same rhetorical peculiarity as mentioned above is also noticeable in the verse following the one in question, where Sindhu (Kṣemendra's grandfather) is compared to the *sindhu* (ocean). This naturally exhibits Somendra's fondness for that particular design of poetical art, which he appears to have employed with pleasure and a will. The above consideration may, therefore, be deemed competent enough to

disarm any suggestion in favour of reading 'Bhogendra' to the inevitable detriment of the peculiar figurative expression contained in the verse under reference. Hence, although 'Bhogendra' would keep up a very good phonological akinness with the many other name-forms, viz., 'Narendra', 'Prakāśendra', 'Kṣemendra' and 'Somendra', yet, in view of the deliberations put forth above, the correct name of Kṣemendra's great grandfather seems to be 'Bhogīndra' and not 'Bhogendra' as given by Dr. Sūryakānta and Dr. P. L. Vaidya. No person of exactly the same name as Bhogīndra is traceable in the Rājataraṅgiṇī where, however, we have one Bhogasena mentioned under king Uccala (1101-1111 A.D.) ; but, as Dr. Sūryakānta rightly points out,[9] the identification of our Bhogīndra with this Bhogasena is not tenable on chronological grounds.

Bhogīndra's son, Sindhu, as Somendra describes him in a beautiful verse of his own,[10] was like the ocean, having been the possessor of the goddess of wealth (Śrī), the reservoir of multitudes of pearl-like virtues, and the source of the ambrosia of Learning. According to Hodgson Ms. of the text in question, Sindhu was, further, the abode of strength (sattvanidhi) and was like the ocean which is the abode of (aquatic) animals (sattvanidhi). In the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī,[11] Kṣemendra suggests a comparision between Sindhu and the ocean (sindhu) ; while in the Daśāvatāracarita,[12] he institutes a contrast between his grandfather and the ocean (sindhu) by describing him as one greater than the ocean (adhikaḥ sindhoḥ) ; the poet also aptly describes him there as one of deep design (nimnāśayaḥ).

In the Kāvyamālā edition of the Daśāvatāracarita,[13] the name of Kṣemendra's grandfather is given as 'Sindu'. Dr. Mahājan also, in the family-tree provided by him,[14] has noticed the form 'Sindu', but this he notes as an alternative for 'Sindhu'. Dr. Būhler,[15] Prof. Le'vi,[16] Pt. Kaul,[17] Dr. Sūryakānta[18] and Mr. Nagendranāth Vasu,[19] however, have all recognised the only form, 'Sindhu'. Although we cannot at once rule out the claim of 'Sindu' as a rival substitute for

'Sindhu', yet, in view of the name-form recorded in the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī as well as in Somendra's account available in the Avadānakalpalatā, as also of the fact that 'Sindu' by itself, unlike the other known names in Kṣemendra's genealogy, is strikingly without any meaning, we are inclined to think that 'Sindhu' and not 'Sindu' is the genuine name of Kṣemendra's grandfather; 'Sindu' might be either a scribal error or a softer form, current in popular use, adapted to the needs of easier pronunciation.

It must be noted that, according to Dr. K. C. Pāṇḍey,[20] Kṣemendra's grandfather's name was Nimnāśaya. The same view, on Dr. Pāṇḍey's authority, has been recorded by Dr. A. Sharmā also.[21] The source of Dr. Pāṇḍey's information, as the scholar himself states, is Kṣemendra's Mahābhāratamañjarī; and in support of his statement he produces a part of a verse which, according to his own admission, he finds in the said work. As a matter of fact, the verse referred to is not traceable in the Mahābhāratamañjarī and there is no mention of Kṣemendra's grandfather anywhere in the said work as available to us. The verse in question occurs in the Daśāvatāracarita. 'Nimnāśaya' occurring in the said verse is, in fact, not anybody's name but a word qualifying 'Sinduḥ'[22], which word is given there as the name of Kṣemendra's grandfather. This will be evident from a careful reading of the relevant portion of the verse, which is as follows:

Kaśmīreṣu babhūva Sinduradhikaḥ
sindhośca nimnāśayaḥ[23]

[In Kashmir, there was Sindu, of deep resolve, who was greater than even the ocean.]

Dr. Pāṇḍey's proposition naming one Nimnāśaya as Kṣemendra's grandfather is evidently based on an assumption of syntactical relation between the two words, 'sindhoḥ' and 'nimnāśayaḥ' occurring in the above extract. But, to conjecture such a relation between the two words in question means to let the word 'adhikaḥ' stand awkwardly unrelated and

almost meaningless. Again, even if we accept the syntactical connection as above, which evidently constitutes the very basic ground of Dr. Pāṇḍey's statement in question, we cannot indeed explain why the father of the supposed personality, Nimnāśaya should be named differently as 'Sindu' and 'Sindhu' in the same foot of the verse under reference. Further, in the said verse as we have it in the Kāvyamālā edition of the work in question, or in the extract given by Dr. Būhler from his manuscript of the said work,[24] we have the three words, viz., 'Sindu' ('Sindhu' according to Būhler's manuscript), 'Prakāśendra' and 'Kṣemendra', printed in bold characters, obviously meant to be marked out as personal names and to be endowed with special importance as such. It should be noticed that in contrast to the three names mentioned above the word 'nimnāśayaḥ' in either of the said sources is not in bold type ;—this certainly indicates that the scribes or the editors concerned do not treat 'nimnāśaya' as a personal name.

The history of Kashmir as told in the Rājataraṅgiṇī presents us a person of the name of Sindhu. He was minister of finance (or treasurer ?) under the purely nominal reign of Abhimanyu and under queen Diḍḍā (958-1003 A.D.). He pillaged the Royal Treasury ; and this, according to Prof. Le′vi,[25] might be the possible explanation for the enormous fortune of his son, Prakāśendra. Thus Prof. Le′vi seems to be inclined to identify Kṣemendra's grandfather, Sindhu with Sindhu of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The identification of the two names, as Dr. Sūryakānta rightly observes,[26] is tempting, and the chronology also supports this ; but, a grave objection to the identification consists in the fact that Sindhu of the Rājataraṅgiṇī 'is painted very black' and is an extremely wicked person unlike Kṣemendra's grandfather, Sindhu who has been described by both Kṣemendra and Somendra as a glorious figure. With a critical interpreter, however, the obvious difference of colour between these two Sindhus might not carry as much weight as has been attached to it ; for, on the one hand, nobody can deny the possibility that Kalhaṇa, whose account of Sindhu was evidently based on some indirect knowledge about him, happened to emphasise

and largely magnify his darker traits ; on the other hand, it is equally possible that Kṣemendra and Somendra were deliberately indifferent to their beloved forefather's declivities of character, if any, and indulged in stressing his virtues and spreading a halo of brilliance around his name. The above possibilities admitted, the difference in character-portrayal of the two Sindhus is perhaps explained. Besides, the said difference may be accounted for by reference to the fact that while Kalhaṇa's account of Sindhu depicts the man in the background of his career as an officer in charge of the Royal Treasury of Kashmir, the sketches by Kṣemendra and Somendra consist merely in some general remarks, poetical and indeterminate, regarding Sindhu's learning, intelligence and other virtues ; and it would also not be an importunate venture to conceive a combination of learning and shrewdness, of eminence and meanness, and of virtues and villainy in a single human character. Dr. Sūryakānta says that "Kṣemendra praises his grandfather for his charity and devotion to Śiva."[27] The evidence at our disposal does not support this alleged attribution by Kṣemendra of these specific virtues to his grandfather, Sindhu. What is rather deserving of notice in the present context is that Kṣemendra describes his grandfather as 'nimnāśayaḥ', i.e., a man of inscrutable resolve ; further, Somendra describes Sindhu as 'śrīmān', i.e., a man having plenty of fortune. These two attributes, 'nimnāśayaḥ' and 'śrīmān', taken together, may be viewed as very much significant in having a close bearing on Sindhu's life and character as revealed in Kalhaṇa's account of the man.

Regarding identification of the two Sindhus, Dr. Sūryakānta has registered his further objection in the following words : "Sindhu of the Rājataraṅgiṇī had a son Mataṅga, who was also a treasurer to Saṅgrāmarāja (1003-28 A.D.). We find no mention of Mataṅga in Kṣemendra's writings."[28] If Mataṅga was a son of Kṣemendra's grandfather, Sindhu, he was either an uncle or the father of Kṣemendra. Kṣemendra indeed does not say anything as to whether he had any uncle ; evidently he had no occasion for it. His silence on this point cannot, therefore, be confidently used as an evidence for

exploding an assumption that Mataṅga was an uncle of Kṣemendra. Again, although Kṣemendra as well as Somendra gives the name of Kṣemendra's father as Prakāśendra and not as Mataṅga, we have no positive evidence to contradict the possibility that Mataṅga was another name of Kṣemendra's father. In this connection, reference may be made to a very significant statement by Kṣemendra, which is as follows: "Prāptastasya guṇaprakarṣayaśasā putraḥ Prakāśendratām."[29] In the above extract Kṣemendra means to say that Sindhu's son, by virtue of his reputation for excellent qualities, attained to the state of having the name 'Prakāśendra'. This suggests that Prakāśendra was not the original name of Sindhu's son, but that it was an honorific epithet acquired by him later on, being ultimately recognised and used as his bonafide personal name. Such being the case, we are provided with a scope for supposing that Prakāśendra, Kṣemendra's father, was perhaps originally known as Mataṅga. The supposition, again, identifying Prakāśendra as Mataṅga, treasurer to Saṅgrāmarāja, would certainly go to explain the financial affluence of Kṣemendra's father so proudly spoken of by Kṣemendra himself. Although we have no clear and conclusive evidence to substantiate the possible suppositions as above, it would perhaps hardly be justified to throw them into the wind as utterly untenable.

Dr. Sūryakānta's strongest objection to identification of the two Sindhus, in his own words, is: "The objection, which explodes the identification, is that according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, Sindhu's father was a litter-carrier Kuyya. Somendra says that Sindhu's father was Bhogendra. We have no justifiable grounds for indentifying 'Kuyya' with Bhogendra."[30] The fact that Kuyya was an ordinary litter-carrier need not unavoidably be considered to be a bar against his identification with Kṣemendra's great grandfather Bhogīndra (Bhogendra according to Dr. Sūryakānta), presumably a distinguished personality in the line of minister Narendra; for, in Kalhaṇa's narration of the Kashmirian history, we come across strange cases of people ascending from humble origin to exalted heights, and vice versa. In any case, it must be said, we

have no evidence worth the name either to prove or to disprove that Kuyya and Bhogīndra were identical.

In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, as the benefit of doubt can reasonably be appropriated by neither side, it would be judicious to reserve the verdict on the justifiability or otherwise of identification of the two Sindhus—Sindhu of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and Sindhu, the grandfather of Kṣemendra.

The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī in its Upasaṁhāra presents its apparent purpose to give the name of Kṣemendra's father as something like Prakaṇḍa, although, grammatically, the relevant expression as it occurs there fails to give correctly the new suspected name. The expression in question is as follows : "Kāśmīrako guṇādhāra-Prakaṇḍścābhidho' bhavat."[31] Analogous to this, the expression in the Mahābhāratamañjarī reads thus : "Kāśmīriko guṇādhāraḥ Prakāśendrābhidho' bhavat."[32] The latter expression contains no grammatical irregularity and gives the name clearly as Prakāśendra. It seems to be highly probable that the expressions were originally identical in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and the Mahābhāratamañjarī and that the present peculiar variants (as noticeable in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī), viz., 'Kāśmīrako' for 'Kāśmīriko', 'guṇādhāra' (forming part of a compound) for 'guṇādhāraḥ' (a distinctly separate word), and 'Prakaṇḍaśca' for 'Prakāśendra-', were nothing but scribal errors. The name 'Prakāśendra' is given by Kṣemendra in the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī and the Daśāvatāracarita, too. Somendra also gives the same name in his Introduction to the Avadānakalpalatā. In the last colophon (just following the Vyāsāṣṭaka) of the Mahābhāratamañjarī, Kṣemendra is described as 'Prakāśendrasūnu' (son of Prakāśendra). He is similarly described as Prakāśendra's son ('Prakāśendrātmaja') in each of the colophons to the three chapters of the Suvṛttatilaka, and to the Aucityavicāracarcā and the Cārucaryā. Thus, in ten out of the eleven available sources (four verses by Kṣemendra, one verse by Somendra and six colophons) as mentioned above, which contain the name of Kṣemendra's father, the name is clearly

given as Prakāśendra. From this we may be almost sure that Prakāśendra is the real familiar name of Kṣemendra's father and that the expression in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, quoted above, which appears to present a different name, is faulty and unwarranted. The genuineness of the name 'Prakāśendra' may be further attested by a statement of Kṣemendra where the poet ingeniously gives a fine analytic signification of the said name of his father. The statement is as follows : "Saṁpūrṇadānasaṁtuṣṭāḥ prāhustaṁ brāhmaṇāḥ sadā/Indra evāsi kiṁtvekaḥ prakāśaste guṇo'dhikaḥ //"[33] The expression in the second half of the above verse obviously takes 'Indra' as the principal part and 'Prakāśa', taken to be an attributive word, as the subordinate part of the name explained, so that the full name reconstructed out of this would necessarily be 'Prakāśendra'. The Brāhmaṇas, as the verse means to signify, were highly pleased at Prakāśendra's bounteous gifts, and used to extol him, by affirming a wholesome explanation of his name, as nicely conceived by them, with the manifest purpose of assigning him a place of honour higher than that of the good god, Indra. Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstrī, presumably on the basis of the verse quoted above, remarks : "His (i.e. Prakāśendra's) high-sounding title of Indra was conferred on him on account of the handsome gifts he made to Brahmins."[34] In the light of Pt. Kaul's remark as above, the real and original name of Kṣemendra's father seems to have been 'Prakāśa' having the title 'Indra' subsequently affixed to it.

Prakāśendra, Kṣemendra's father, to believe the accounts of his son and his grandson, was a magnificent personality. He had enormous wealth ; he made munificent charities ; and his modesty went beyond his riches and liberalities. Kṣemendra describes Prakāśendra as one born of Sindhu (literally, the ocean), like a second moon, whose fame resembling the moonbeam eternally graced the earth.[35] He is further described thus : With his hand (trunk) wet ever with charities (rut), having an auspicious bearing, and holding the banner of glory, the great Prakāśendra attained well to the state of an elephant.[36] He was like a wish-yielding tree, the fulfiller of the desires of multitudes of needy people.[37] He was like the

Meru, the abode of abundant wealth full of liberal grace.[38] He was a man of excellent virtues and by his manifold charities to the chief Brāhmaṇas he became pre-eminently famous.[39] In his fortune and fame he was considered equal to Indra, nay, even superior to him.[40] Somendra pays homage to his grandfather in the following words : Sindhu's son, Prakāśendra was like Prakāśendra (and none else) on earth ; by his merits earned by charities he became endowed with the virtues of the Bodhisattva.[41] Kṣemendra gives some specific instances of his father's charitable nature. We are told that Prakāśendra made gifts of food, money, land, house, cows and black buckskins to the Brāhmaṇas in whose honour he also gave numerous repasts in his house.[42] On the occasion of the solar eclipse, he gave three lac to the Brāhmaṇas along with three kṛṣṇājinas each. But he accused himself of avarice even after such liberalities.[43] Prakāśendra was a scholar, too.[44] A great patron of learning, religion and the Brāhmaṇas, he installed images of deities in the temple of Svayambhū or Svayambhū-Śambhu-Vijaya, or, according to Pt. Kaul,[45] at Svayam near Nijihāmā in Handawārā Tahsil, and spent a lot of money on the gods, Brāhmaṇas and monasteries.[46] He was a fervent devotee of Śiva. He worshipped his god till the last day of his life and died in Śiva's temple with tears flowing in devotional outburst and the image of his god clasped in close embrace.[47]

Kṣemendra's son, Somendra also, as Somendra himself informs us, was a poet ; he describes himself as 'Niruddhā-paranāmadheyaḥ' ;[48]—this may mean that Somendra had a second name 'Niruddha', or that, whatever his other name (or names), that (or they) went out of use, being replaced (lit. obstructed-niruddha) by the name 'Somendra' gaining currency at home and abroad. The relevant expression in this connection (fn. 48), viewed in its compact entirety and possible hyperbolic import, may be interpreted also to suggest that Somendra became very famous as a poet so much so that he came to be known only as a 'Poet' (Kavi), his personal name 'Somendra' having sunk into forgetfulness. Somendra had the good idea of completing an auspicious number by

adding one more chapter, the last and 108th Pallava, to the 107 paternal chapters of the Avadānakalpalatā.[49] In the 108th Pallava, and in his Introduction, consisting of fifteen verses, to the said chapter of the Avadānakalpalatā, as also in the nineteen verses which serve as a prelude to the great work as a whole, he has left for us an evidence of his significant contribution to literature. Since Somendra introduces himself as a poet, it is very likely that he had some more writings to his credit, which unfortunately have not survived. Within the rather narrow scope of the small production as above, Somendra has indeed been able to give a good account of his sparkling poetic faculty characterised by clarity of thought and lucidity of expression rendered agreeable by effective literary devices including efficient employment of various figures of speech, etc. A brief analysis of his literary qualities has been attempted in a special chapter in the Appendix (Vol. II), devoted to the purpose. Somendra deserves undoubtedly our compliments for the information he has furnished regarding Kṣemendra's life and the composition of his immortal work, Avadānakalpalatā. Somendra had great respect for his father Kṣemendra whose poetry he praises in the highest terms of appreciation.[50] He had supreme reverence for the Buddha and his teachings, the Bauddha philosophy and the holy Jātaka stories.[51] It is this deep devotion to the Buddha and the Buddhistic lore which evidently prompted Somendra to get himself associated with the production of the Avadānakalpalatā and thereby entitle himself to imperishable spiritual merit and attain greatness. Thus he says : Tasmin mayāpyakṣayapuṇya-lobhādekāvadānapratimārpiteyam/Mahātmanāṁ prauḍhapadānusārī svalpo'pyayatnena mahattvameti //[52] (There, by me, again, has been offered this image of an avadāna, out of a craving for undecaying spiritual merit. Even a very small person, by following in the mature foot-prints of the great, attains to greatness by little effort.). What spiritual merit Somendra actually earned for himself by adding the 108th chapter is really beyond our common knowledge. But, it must be admitted that by his precious contribution in the Avadānakalpalatā he has shared with his illustrious father the rare reward of immortal fame in the

literary circle. As Prof. Le'vi puts it, 'his piety saved him from oblivion'.[53]

We have no specific evidence to show that Kṣemendra had any other offspring. But, yet, we cannot ignore the possible indication contained in the expression 'asmatpitravadānānām'[54] by Somendra, of which the component part 'asmatpitṛ' meaning 'our father' might be taken to signify plurality of Kṣemendra's offspring. In view, however, of the grammatical dictum "Asmado Dvayośca",[55] the base 'asmad' may be used optionally in the plural number to indicate the singular or dual number. Hence the word in question, i.e., 'asmatpitṛ' may be interpreted in favour of any one of the following suppositions : (i) Kṣemendra was the father of only one child, Somendra, (ii) He had one more offspring excepting his son, Somendra, and (iii) He had begotten more than two offspring including Somendra.

Prof. Le'vi raised a question as to whether it is necessary to reckon as a brother of Kṣemendra the poet Cakrapāla who is cited in the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, being introduced by the words : "Yathā caitad-bhrātus Cakrapālasya."[56] In the family tree of Kṣemendra as provided by Dr. Sūryakānta we actually find the name of one Cakrapāla as Kṣemendra's brother.[57] The name itself sounds strangely unusual, being out of tune with the names of the other near members of the family, viz., Prakāśendra, Kṣemendra and Somendra. Of course, the claim put forth in favour of Cakrapāla's being recognised as a brother of Kṣemendra cannot be challenged merely on the stated ground of queer discordance in the structure of the former's name-form in relation to the other names mentioned above. But, what is important in this connection is that Dr. Sūryakānta does not appear to be in the right in making the statement that "in the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Kṣemendra mentions Cakrapāla as his brother."[58] In the second Sandhi of the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, while illustrating 'Thriving on borrowed words', Kṣemendra immediately after quoting a verse of poet Muktākaṇa, says : "Yathā caitadbhrātus Cakrapālasya", which expression has been ren-

dered by Dr. Sūryakānta as follows : 'Compare his brother Cakrapāla's (verse)'. The pronoun 'etad' in the word 'etadbhrātuḥ' occurring in the above-quoted statement obviously refers to poet Muktākaṇa mentioned just before in the said context, so that Cakrapāla, according to Kṣemendra's statement under discussion, appears to be Muktākaṇa's brother and not Kṣemendra's. Dr. Sūryakānta, too, in his faithful rendering as quoted above of the text in question, does not seem to imply any contradiction to our supposed meaning of the word 'etadbhrātuḥ'. It seems to be strange, therefore, how, according to the learned scholar, the said expression of Kṣemendra, viz., 'etadbhrātṛ' (his brother) could after all mean 'Kṣemendra's brother and not Muktākaṇa's'. If the word were simply 'bhrātuḥ' instead of 'etadbhrātuḥ', there might have been possibly some scope for entertaining the admissibility of the word referring the relationship to the author himself, but, even then, no definite conclusion could have been reached, since, in that case also, by reason of its close proximity to the name 'Muktākaṇa', 'Bhrātṛ' of the supposed word 'Bhrātuḥ' might have been taken to suggest the meaning of 'Muktākaṇa's brother'. However, since we are loath to believe that Dr. Sūryakānta while making the statement in question did not take proper notice of the pronoun 'etad' in the word 'etadbhrātuḥ', he was, it must be admitted, consciously inclined to believe that by 'etad' in the said expression, Kṣemendra referred to himself. Although the practice of referring to oneself in the third person instead of in the usual first person is not absolutely rare in Sanskrit literature, there is indeed no sufficient reason or occasion for us to suppose that Kṣemendra followed the said practice in his deliberations as contained in the treatise under reference, i.e., the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, or elsewhere ; on the contrary, it may be pointed out, there are copious examples not only in the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa but in the Aucityavicāracarcā and the Suvṛttatilaka also to show that in quoting a verse or naming a book of his own Kṣemendra invariably refers to himself in the first person. Attention may be drawn to the fact that almost immediately after quoting Cakrapāla whom he introduces as 'etadbhrātṛ' Kṣemendra quotes a verse composed by

himself, which he introduces with the words 'yathā mama' and not with 'yathā etasya' or 'yathā Kṣemendrasya'. It would, therefore, be an extremely strained, rather preposterous conjecture to mean 'my brother' (i.e. Kṣemendra's brother) by 'etadbhrātṛ' in the text under reference. It deserves notice that Dr. Mahājan, in the genealogical tree given by him, does not mention Cakrapāla or anybody else as Kṣemendra's brother.[59] Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstrī, Dr. P. V. Kane, Dr. K. C. Pāṇḍey, the editors of 'Minor works of Kṣemendra' and several others in their respective accounts of Kṣemendra's ancestry have not similarly noticed any Cakrapāla as related to Kṣemendra by blood or otherwise. That Cakrapāla was a brother to poet Muktākaṇa of the 9th century A.D. is, further, explicitly admitted by the editors of 'Minor Works of Kṣemendra'.[60] The editorial note on ŚrīCakra who is quoted under Rule 25 (propriety in the use of particles) of the Aucityavicāracarcā as published in the Kāvyamālā series (Part I, 1886) clearly identifies this Cakrapāla as Muktākaṇa's brother, thus: "Muktākaṇabhrātā Cakrapāla iti Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇe......"[61]

CHAPTER FIVE

HIS RACE AND CASTE

Mr. S. C. Das, in his edition of Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā, makes a categorical statement to the effect that Kṣemendra's ancestors drew their descent from the race of the Śākyas.[1] It is unfortunate that neither has Mr. Das adduced any evidence in support of his statement nor have we been able to find any information anywhere which might throw light on the same. We, however, know of an intimate relation of Kashmir with emperor Aśoka who came in contact with the Valley early in his life and established his sway there as its ruler and benefactor and a promoter of Dharma.[2] Now Aśoka, if the Buddhist tradition is to be believed, belonged to the Śākya race.[3] In view of this tradition, it may be supposed that as a sequel to Aśoka's sovereign sway and benevolent activities in Kashmir, groups of Śākya people, besides monks and missionaries, also had occasion to migrate into the land. It is also not unlikely that, during his reign, Aśoka entrusted the charge of some important departments of the Kashmir Government to some officers of his own choice who were Śākyas. Thus there would be no reason for surprise if Kṣemendra's ancestors who are supposed to have been high officials of the Kashmir Government since early times were ethnically connected with the race of these Śākya migrants or officials of Aśoka's time. Further, as is just evident from the Introduction (pp. xiii, xvi, xvii) by Gon Salnapa Chhenpo, the first sovereign Dalai Lama, to the Tibetan version of Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā,[4] Kṣemendra was held in high esteem by a large section of the Tibetans for his unique contribution in the abovenamed work to the Buddhistic biographical literature. It deserves notice that in the said Introduction (p. xiii) the poet has been most reverentially described as *'dharmarāja'* (chos. rgyal. dge. dban). This profound respect for the writer of the Buddha's life, Kṣemendra, might

have, as is often quite natural in such cases, generated among some Tibetan devotees a pious notion gradually maturing into the firm belief that the forefathers of this saintly author sprang from the line of the noble Śākya race to which the Buddha himself belonged ; and Mr. Das's statement as mentioned above might well be an echo of that popular belief. According to the Nīlamata Purāṇa, the Śākyas evidently meant the Bauddha ascetics or followers of the Buddha.[5] Kṣemendra's 'Avadānakalpalatā' which entitled him to a singular honour probably made the people look upon him and his ancestors also as Śākyas or Bauddha ascetics—an assumption which may equally present an excuse for the statement of Mr. Das. But, obviously, all this is nothing but a convenient surmise which seeks merely to suggest some probable explanation, strained and far-fetched though, of the association as affirmed by Mr. Das of the name of Kṣemendra with that of the Śākya race. At any rate, it must be admitted that, in the absence of any positive evidence, the statement of Mr. Das may at best be deemed as a pleasant conjecture which can claim no more value than is just its due.

Some are inclined to believe that Kṣemendra was a Brāhmaṇa by caste.[6] The name 'Kṣemendra,' which is a combination of 'Kṣema' and 'Indra', may, in the light Manu's prescription regarding 'Naming',[7] lead one to think that he was a Brāhmaṇa. It may be pointed out that the author of Lipiviveka and Mātṛkāviveka,[8] who was also named Kṣemendra, was a Brāhmaṇa. But no conclusion can certainly be derived merely from consideration of the name-form as above, for the following reasons : (i) We do not know whether the name of our poet had any one of the usual *upapadas* recommended by Manu, e.g., *śarman, deva, varman,* etc.,[9] and, if he had any, what that exactly was. So to look for the poet's caste in the light of Manu cannot possibly yield a convincing result ; (ii) Although, as mentioned initially, the name 'Kṣemendra,' from the point of view of Manu's injunction, may look like a Brāhmaṇa's name, the name of Kṣemendra's forefather, Narendra, might, again, from an identical point of view, appear to be the name of a Kṣatriya. Medhātithi

mentions 'Prajāpāla' as an illustration of the type of name recommended by Manu for Kṣatriyas.[10] In its sense and significance, 'Narendra' may very well be regarded as a replica of 'Prajāpāla'. This also frustrates the probable conclusion that might follow from consideration of the spirit and structure of Kṣemendra's name in the light of Manu's recommendation as referred to above ; and, (iii) The recommendations of ancient Indian authorities as regards distinctive name-forms for individuals belonging to different castes cannot be alleged to have been followed strictly and universally. Thus, the name 'Bhavabhūti', in the light of Manu, looks like a Vaiśya's name, although admittedly the famous poet by that name was a Brāhmaṇa by caste.[11] Hence, also, it would not be a wise step to search for the truth about Kṣemendra's caste by judging his name-form with reference to the relevant injunctions laid down in the Śāstras.

The fact that Kṣemendra's father Narendra was a minister of a king may incline us to suppose that he was a Brāhmaṇa, because 'we know of some famous Brāhmaṇa ministers, viz., Cāṇakya, Sāyaṇa etc.'[12] and also because it is recommended in the ancient Codes that, in the appointment of ministers and high executive officials, noble birth should be considered as one of the essential qualifications,[13] and in an ancient Indian society, specially of the Brāhmaṇical order, a Brāhmaṇa normally claims preference in respect of superiority in birth. But perhaps the above argument cannot be deemed strong enough for a definite conclusion to be derived on the point at issue. To quote Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, "Kṣatriyas too at times might have occupied the position of a minister" just as "Brāhmaṇas have sometimes been the chief commander of the army (senāpati), a post to which Kṣatriyas should naturally be entitled".[14] In fact, on the evidence of authorities we can say that the post of a minister was not as a rule reserved for Brāhmaṇas only but that the appointment of ministers could be made from among Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas alike.[15] In the history of Kashmir we do come across good many names of ministers and other high officials who were not Brāhmaṇas. Thus, for example,

a foreigner from the Tuhkhāra land, Caṅkuṇa by name, was a very influential minister of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa ;[16] Tuṅga, a low-born hillman, became Prime Minister ;[17] Bhadreśvara, a Kāyastha, became Prime Minister during Saṅgrāmarāja's rule ;[18] Haladhara, a Vaiśya, got the Prime-Ministership under Ananta ;[19] Sunna together with his younger brother, who were grandsons of Kṣema, a barber, enjoyed high position among the ministers during Harṣa's regime ;[20] and, Gauraka, the Prime Minister, was a Kāyastha.[21] In view of the above, we cannot boldly assert that Kṣemendra's grandfather Narendra, because he was a minister of a king, was necessarily a Brāhmaṇa by caste. Thus we are not the least helped by Narendra in our attempt to determine the caste of his illustrious descendant, Kṣemendra.

Kṣemendra, as we know, was the *guru* of Bhaṭṭa Udayasiṁha[22] and Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇāditya.[23] We may be inclined to believe that Bhaṭṭa Udayasiṁha was a Brāhmaṇa, for 'Bhaṭṭa' is a term which is usually found affixed or prefixed to the names of learned Brāhmaṇas ; and this would again lead us to suppose that Kṣemendra was a Brāhmaṇa, for, it is difficult to think of a Brāhmaṇa having been the *śiṣya* of a non-Brāhmaṇa *guru* in ancient India. But, still, our way of thought as above cannot ensure a safe and clean conclusion. Although, in Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa, 'Bhaṭṭa' is given as a name of 'Brāhmaṇa,'[24] the word has been generally used by the poet himself to mean 'wise and learned men'[25]—a sense recognised by modern lexicographers also.[26] 'Bhaṭṭa' is also a title of honour used by inferior persons addressing or denoting a prince or a king.[27] The word also means an offspring born of a Śūdra and Vaiśyā, or of a Kṣatriya and a Viprā ;[28] it is also the name of a mixed caste of hereditary panegyrists.[29] It may be supposed that Kṣemendra's pupil Udayasiṁha was none but the son of the poet's friend, Ratnasiṁha, king of Vijayeśa, mentioned in the Aucityavicāracarcā.[30] In the work referred to above, the name of prince Udayasiṁha appears without 'Bhaṭṭa' prefixed to it, whereas in the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, while citing an example from a work by Udayasiṁha, Kṣemendra mentions his name with 'Mahā-Śrī-Bhaṭṭa' prefixed

to it. Evidently, the term 'Bhaṭṭa' (as also 'Mahā-Śrī') qualifying the name here is used as a title of respect for any royal dignity that Udaya might have inherited or acquired after his father's demise, or preferably to indicate his learning and poetic faculty as already attested by his literary production referred to by his teacher, Kṣemendra himself. Hence we may be almost sure that Kṣemendra's pupil Bhaṭṭa Udayasiṁha was not a Brāhmaṇa. His other pupil Lakṣmaṇāditya who is expressly stated to have been a prince (rājaputra) was also evidently not a Brāhmaṇa. And we have as yet no evidence to show that Kṣemendra had ever a Brāhmaṇa pupil. As Dr. A. Sharmā and his colleagues describe him, "he was the Guru of princes and kings."[31] So, the weight of the belief alleging Kṣemendra to be a Brāhmaṇa may provisionally be lifted from upon the question of his caste. Notwithstanding this, an objection may, however, be urged, as it has actually been done by scholars in discussing the question of caste with reference to the renowned poet Rājaśekhara, that 'it was unbecoming for a Kṣatriya to be a guru or upādhyāya',[32] or that it is very unlikely that in the eleventh century princes or kings made a Kṣatriya their teacher.[33] But the above objection does not stand, since, according to the verdict of the Dharmaśāstras, 'there is no total prohibition against a Kṣatriya's being a teacher'.[34] In view of all this it would certainly not be reasonable yet to maintain that Kṣemendra was necessarily a Brāhmaṇa. The probability that he might belong to a non-Brāhmaṇa caste cannot indeed be denied.

There is one thing which must be noticed as very important in the present context. From Kṣemendra's autobiographical accounts we know that his father Prakāśendra was a great patron of Brāhmaṇas. Kṣemendra apparently took special interest in mentioning as one of his father's special virtues Prakāśendra's devotion to Brāhmaṇas whose blessing he is stated to have earned by his generous charities to them. It is but evident that Kṣemendra held the Brāhmaṇa community in high esteem. The poet appreciated the value of the Brāhmaṇical order of society and considered that the upsetting of this order constitutes a great evil.[35] In his Cārucaryā

Kṣemendra says : "Brāhmaṇān nāvamanyeta Brahmaśāpo hi duḥsahaḥ".[36] Besides, while speaking of one Rāmayaśas, both Kṣemendra and his son Somendra describe him as a Brāhmaṇa.[37] One Devadhara has also been described by Kṣemendra as holding the position of 'Dvijarāja', i.e., 'Chief of Brāhmaṇas'.[38] Evidently, both Kṣemendra and Somendra were keenly conscious about the distinctive social status of the Brāhmaṇas so that they thought it proper to introduce a Brāhmaṇa expressly as a Brāhmaṇa and thereby to signify his worth as such. Keeping this in view and assuming at the same time that Kṣemendra was born in a Brāhmaṇa family, we would probably find no way to explain why neither Kṣemendra nor Somendra chose ever to utter a single word to specify the supposed social status of their family. Kṣemendra has taken care to introduce very respectfully some of his ancestors to us ; he has said a lot about his father on whose glory and greatness he is rather eloquent ; Somendra has similarly presented a glowing picture of his family and has spoken very highly of his father Kṣemendra. Had it been a Brāhmaṇa family in which Kṣemendra and Somendra were born, the fact would certainly have been indicated at least once in their animating family accounts along with the several details given with so much care and interest. True it is that silence about a thing does not invariably mean the negation thereof ; but, when eloquence is just duly expected, silence is indeed extremely significant. To conjecture, therefore, that Kṣemendra and Somendra belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family and that their silence about their caste was a plain case of omission due to indifference or inadvertence or of suppression of fact due to extreme modesty or other reasons cannot possibly, in the light of our above discussion, be suffered even as a matter of abstract argument. Hence, it appears to be highly probable that Kṣemendra did not belong to the caste of the Brāhmaṇa. If, however, credence is given to Mr. Das's statement connecting Kṣemendra's heredity with the Śākya race,[39] it may be supposed that Kṣemendra was a Kṣatriya, for the Śākyas whose origin is traced back to King Okkāka, i.e., Ikṣvāku of the great solar dynasty, claimed to be Kṣatriyas.[40]

CHAPTER SIX

THE RULING KINGS OF HIS TIME

Of the many works of Kṣemendra, that have seen the light till today, the following seven contain mention of the king of Kashmir during whose reign the poet flourished: (i) Narmamālā, (ii) Suvṛttatilaka, (iii) Avadānakalpalatā, (iv) Aucityavicāracarcā, (v) Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, (vi) Samayamātṛkā, and (vii) Daśāvatāracarita. The remaining works forming about two-thirds of the total number of his available treatises are conspicuous by their silence about the ruling king of the poet's time. Attention may here be drawn to Dr. Sūryakānta's statement which runs as follows: "Kṣemendra gives the name of the ruling king in all his works."[1] This observation of Dr. Sūryakānta obviously lacks agreement with the facts noted above relating to the point in question.

In each of the works, Narmamālā, Suvṛttatilaka, Aucityavicāracarcā, Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa and Samayamātṛkā, Kṣemendra mentions the name of Ananta as the ruling king. In the Daśāvatāracarita also, in the first among the concluding verses, he mentions Ananta; but Ananta is not described there as the king, but is named, in a benedictory strain, along with Viṣṇu, whose benevolence the poet invokes for the good of the people. The last and fifth concluding verse of the same book, however, mentions Kalaśa as the king.[2]

Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī (VII. 134-723) gives a rather elaborate sketch of the career and character of king Ananta and his son and successor, king Kalaśa of Kashmir.[3] The incidents of Ananta's accession, abdication and death, and the incident of Kalaśa's death may be assigned to the years 1028, 1063, 1081 and 1089 A.D., respectively. The accounts given by different scholars of the career of Ananta and his son, Kalaśa are virtually based on Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī and are necessarily, except for some minor discre-

pancies here and there, almost identical in respect of the various notable events of their career along with the specific dates relating to such events.[4] It is apparent that the rule of Ananta and his son, Kalaśa covered approximately a period of sixty years, extending from the second to the fourth quarter of the eleventh century of the Christian era. Ananta's predecessor was his brother, Harirāja who died in 1028 A.D. after a brief rule of only twenty-two days. Harirāja's predecessor was his father, Saṁgrāmarāja who succeeded Queen Diḍḍā (981 A.D.—1003 A.D.) and was king of Kashmir from 1003 A.D. to 1028 A.D. Kṣemendra, it is supposed, had his birth in Kashmir in the last decade of the tenth century and died in his homeland about 1070 A.D. He, therefore, lived under a succession of five different rulers, Diḍḍā, Saṁgrāmarāja, Harirāja, Ananta and Kalaśa. Born during Diḍḍā's sovereign rule, Kṣemendra was only a young boy when the queen had reached the end of about half a century of her ruthless government, first as queen consort, then as regent and ultimately as sovereign. With the close of Saṁgrāmarāja's reign, the poet must have completed his educational career and set his hand to poetic craftsmanship. The important period of Kṣemendra's literary activity, as may be evident from an inquiry into the chronology of the poet's works, almost synchronises with the period of Ananta's sovereign rule and continues for a few years more after the king's formal abdication in favour of his son, Kalaśa. It is interesting to note that not only most of Kṣemendra's works were composed during Ananta's rule but some of the poet's best compositions, viz., Suvṛttatilaka, Aucityavicāracarcā, Avadānakalpalatā, Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa and Samayamātṛkā, were produced during the time Ananta's royal glory reached its zenith. We cannot, therefore, agree with Dr. S. K. De who holds that Kṣemendra wrote most of his works under king Kalaśa of Kashmir.[5]

Kṣemendra speaks very highly of Ananta's manliness and magnanimity of heart, and expresses genuine pride and delight in referring to his valorous expeditions that were crowned with unique success as well as to his strange superhuman powers

and the excellence of his conduct and character. In his Narmamālā, Kṣemendra refers to Ananta thus :

Yasmin Prājyabhujastambha-
stambhitāhitavikramaḥ /
Trivikrama iva Śrīmān-
Ananto Balijinnṛpaḥ / /[6]

Here the poet compares king Ananta with Trivikrama, i.e., god Viṣṇu, with an obvious reference to the legend narrating the overpowering of the all-powerful Bali by Viṣṇu, and speaks of the king's immense prowess which vanquished his valiant foes. Further, like Viṣṇu, the lord of Śrī, i.e., goddess Lakṣmī (Śrīmān), the king was the master of abundant wealth (śrīmān) ; and the strength of his adversaries was stupefied by the pillars of his huge arms. In the Suvṛttatilaka, Kṣemendra describes Ananta as the warder of his friends' crisis, as the performer of wonders, as the king of kings and as the conqueror of the world.[7] In the last verse of his Aucityavicāracarcā, the poet describes Anantarāja as a king of good grace, famous in the three worlds for his conduct and learning, having the sword as his attendant, who by his submission to Śiva attained immense prosperity of a unique order, and the fire of whose valour continuously cooled down the quarters.[8] The last verse of the Kavikanṭhābharaṇa depicts the king thus : He is the sun by his great prowess ; he is the moon, the lord of stars in the form of the rays of his fame ; he is the conflagration to the forest of inveterate foes ; he is Indra, the bestower of wealth, on earth ; having the world as his form (or, having his command pervading the world) and possessing abundant virility, he is, again, in the Kali age, like Viṣṇu of universal form.[9] The last two concluding verses of the Samayamātṛkā contain a full-throated eulogy extolling king Ananta on his attaining sovereignty. We get there a clear idea of the devastating defeat wrought by the king's heroic enterprises upon his enemies. The widowed young wives of his vanquished enemies, as the verses put it, were rendered completely helpless ; they were prevented by the aged women-

hunters, moved to pity by their plaintive cries, from rushing for refuge deep into the woods which were terrible on account of the cavities of the hills there being infested with deadly hosts of restless angry serpents, infuriated elephants dwelling here and there, and some caves being inhabited by lions.[10] He was, as the poet further characterizes him there, not only a valiant king, but a man with a heart bleeding for the destitute and the distressed on whom he was ever eager to bestow his mercy and favour. He had for his ornaments his good conduct and religious observances. In his victorious enterprise, his sword, an obliging friend of his, rent asunder the foes and knew no other duty to perform.[11] In the first of the five concluding verses of his Daśāvatāracarita, Kṣemendra invokes Ananta along with Viṣṇu for the welfare of the people. In the said verse, by applying the ingenious method of double entendre, the poet identifies Ananta with Viṣṇu ; the man is portrayed thus : He is graceful, the performer of acts unprecedented, assuming various forms—the forms of matsya, kūrma, etc. (that is to say, adopting various diplomatic devices such as may be characterized by 'matsya' representing quick, subtle and imperceptible movement, and by 'kūrma' signifying self-withdrawal and apparent suspension of movement, and so on) ; he has his heart containing the best of qualities ; he possesses the marks of śaṅkha (the emblem of auspiciousness) and cakra (the emblem of moral order) revealed in himself ; he is the ocean of treasures.[12]

Ksemendra's son, Somendra too gives a splendid picture of Ananta's achievement as the sovereign ruler of Kashmir and as a lord of the people. In a single verse[13] he has left for us an inspired resume′ of king Ananta's glorious career, referring probably to the episode narrated in the Rājataraṅgiṇī of the defeat and slaughter of the Darad king, Acalamaṅgala by Ananta's general, Rudrapāla.[14] The verse states that on account of his conquest of his evil enemy (enemies) [or, the enemies of evils] he earned a fame which frowned upon the stars and that there was generated a blessed zeal all around. The verse also suggests that the people lived in bliss and prosperity under Ananta's rule.

Kṣemendra's junior contemporary, Somadeva Bhaṭṭa, in the epilogue to his Kathāsaritsāgara,[15] describes Ananta as a wish-yielding tree in the family of the celebrated king, Saṁgrāmarāja. The poet describes him further as a paramount monarch holding sway over countless rulers who bent their heads low in paying their obeisance to him. He was a store of valour and a terror to his enemies.

Bilhaṇa, another junior contemporary of Kṣemendra, in the last and eighteenth Canto of his famous poem, Vikramāṅkadevacarita, presents an animating account of Ananta's glorious expeditions and generous benefactions and acclaims the king as embodying the culmination of all noble qualities, viz., truth, sacrifice, etc.[16]

The accounts of Ananta's career and character as given by Kṣemendra, Somendra, Somadeva and Bilhaṇa cannot indeed claim full corroboration in the Rājataraṅgiṇī; and by virtue of their very mode and spirit of presentation they read more like poetry than history. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that those poetic accounts compared with the historian Kalhaṇa's records give us a glimpse of the fact that an important period of Kṣemendra's literary activity during Ananta's reign witnessed zeal and prosperity in the Valley of Kashmir, no matter whether the blessings of the period in question are credited to King Ananta or to his illustrious wife, Sūryamatī or to Prime Minister Haladhara or to all combined.

About Ananta's son, Kalaśa, Kṣemendra is almost silent. As stated above, he mentions him only once and that in the last concluding verse of his last-dated work, Daśāvatāracarita, where Kalaśa is referred to merely as the king of Kashmir under whose reign the abovenamed work was completed. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī (VII. 233-723), Kalaśa, for the most part of his career, has been painted very black. Nursed all through by the blind affection of his mother Sūryamatī, Kalaśa, in his very early years, lived a life rendered completely abominable by indulgence in licentious acts, intrigues and hostilities with his father, and subsequently with his own son,

too. He had a sudden emergence, after his parents' tragic death, into glowing uprise which lasted for a few years, and finally he sank down even below the level of animals and met premature death.

Somadeva, however, praises Kalaśa as follows :

Kṣmāmaṇḍalaikatilako' pyanalīkalagno
Yasyā ghanāmṛtamayo guṇibāndhavo'pi /
Vidveṣiparṣadaśivo'pi Śivāvatāraḥ
Śrīmān sutaḥ Kalaśadeva iti kṣitīśaḥ / /[17]

Bilhaṇa too gives an eulogistic account of Kalaśa, which consists in an agreeable description of the latter's physical charm, valour and scholarship.[18] From the said account, the following two verses may be culled as specimens :

Digyātrāsu sphaṭikaviśadacchāyam Acchodametya
Bhrāmyannindrāyudhakhuraputoṭṭaṅkitāsu sthalīṣu /
Kādamvaryāḥ parijanamasau martyalokaikacandras-
Candrāpīḍastutiṣu vidadhe saṁkucadvāgvilāsam / /[19]
Yasyodārāṁ parikalayataḥ śastraśāstrapratiṣṭhāṁ
Dve preyasyau jagati vidite Śrīśca Vāgdevatā ca /
Ekā bheje bhujamabhinavāmbhodanīlātapatrā
Śvetacchatrāyitasitayaśaścandrikānyā mukhendum / /[20]

Somadeva is supposed to have composed his Kathāsaritsāgara in between 1063 and 1081 A.D.,[21] and Bilhaṇa his Vikramāṅkadevacarita in the eighth decade of the eleventh century.[22] As is rightly observed in N.M. Penzer's edition of C. H. Tawney's "The Ocean of Story",[23] the history of Kashmir at this period is one of discontent, intrigue, bloodshed and despair ; it is a long unfortunate tragic tale of the worthless degenerate life of the misguided Kalaśa, the brilliant but ruthless life of Harṣa, the suicide of Ananta himself and resulting chaos as recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī ; this forms

as dark and grim a background for the setting of Somadeva's tales as did the plague of Florence for Boccaccio's *Cento Novelle* nearly three hundred years later. Somadeva's verse as quoted above, which breathes an air of great reverence for Kalaśa, is therefore strangely inconsistent with reality. For this apparent mispresentation of fact, Somadeva may well be excused in consideration of his natural allegiance, as a court poet which he probably was, to the royal family ruling over Kashmir during the period in question. It is perhaps this obligation on the part of Somadeva, which necessarily shut his eyes to the evil and inglorious affairs of the family and made him sing in the conventional strain melodious notes of highflown praise to his ruling king and the other important members of the royal family. Bilhaṇa, however, when he wrote the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, lived far away from his homeland, Kashmir, and served a different master. His account of Kalaśa, as given in the said book, may be explained to have been inspired by a purely romantic attachment, just as is usual for a sojourning poet, for his dear distant motherland and also for the members of the royal family ruling over there. Bilhaṇa, in fact, gives merely a sweet vision of Kalaśa's physical charm and a brief account of his heroic adventure and describes his passion for both Śrī and Vāgdevī. All this captivates our heart like a tale told by a poet without antagonising history. Kṣemendra's attitude to Kalaśa, which is apparently different from that of either Somadeva or Bilhaṇa, deserves to be specially noted. Kṣemendra records his recognition of Kalaśa only once and that, as already mentioned, in the last concluding verse of the Daśāvatāracarita, where the poet simply announces the date of completion of the work associating it with the name of the then ruling king of Kashmir, that is Kalaśa. Kalaśa who died in 1089 A.D. at the age of forty-nine was evidently a young man of about twenty-six at the time of composition of the Daśāvatāracarita which was finished in 1066 A.D. Kalaśaka as quoted by Kṣemendra in the Suvṛttatilaka (II. 14) has been identified by some scholars with Kalaśa, son of Anantarāja.[24] Since the exact date of composition of the Suvṛttatilaka cannot be affirmed as yet, we cannot fix up with exactitude the lower limit for the date

of composition of the verse attributed to Kalaśaka and quoted by Kṣemendra in his said work. The maturity of style and thought as manifest in the verse under reference would, however, incline us to believe that the author of the verse must have been also mature in age when he wrote it. But, if according to the supposition of scholars in general, the Suvṛttatilaka is placed chronologically prior to the Aucityavicāracarcā and is assigned a date near about 1050 A.D., Kalaśa, son of king Ananta, who is the supposed author of the verse referred to, it follows, was a young boy about ten years old when he composed the verse in question; and this would indicate very well the fact that Kalaśa, while yet a tender boy, gave the promise of a talented poet. It is indeed significant that Kṣemendra says not a single word in praise of Kalaśa whose name he mentions without even the most usual and traditional epithet of honour, viz., the auspicious 'Śrī' attached to it. It is no doubt a striking contrast embodied in the fact that while the last concluding verse of the Daśāvatāracarita contains merely a cut and dried reference to king Kalaśa, in the initial concluding verse of the same book Kṣemendra bursts forth into an impassioned invocation to the kind Ananta as well as to Lord Viṣṇu. The latter verse strikes a note of something like a plaintive appeal to Providence for peace and prosperity in Kashmir to be ushered in by Ananta's benign administration. It appears that Kṣemendra had little regard for Kalaśa who was at that period the declared king of Kashmir and that for the welfare of the land the old poet anxiously looked still to Ananta who was not pulling on well with Kalaśa in whose favour he had abdicated. Since his very early age Kalaśa, as we know, became notorious for his licentious habits. Kṣemendra who is manifestly a stout advocate of piety and moral purity must, therefore, have developed a strong distaste for the astrayed Kalaśa, and ultimately, a feeling of helpless compassion for his pride and folly and the consequent humiliation and wreakage of personality.

Chapter Seven

DID HE ENJOY ROYAL PATRONAGE?

The question as to whether Kṣemendra enjoyed royal patronage, as Dr. Sūryakānta observes,[1] is hard to decide. Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstrī[2] and Dr. M. Krishṇamāchāriār,[3] however, hold that Kṣemendra was in the Court of King Ananta who was his patron. Dr. A. Sharmā and his colleagues do also believe that Kṣemendra was a prote'ge' of King Ananta and further that he was patronised by Kalaśa too.[4] Kṣemendra has been described as Ananta's 'Sabhā-Paṇḍita' by Ācārya Rāmacandra Miśra.[5] There are scholars, again, and their number is not small, who in spite of their clear admission that Kṣemendra's literary career beginning under the long rule of Ananta was prolonged and came to an end under his son Kalaśa, have made no mention as to whether the poet enjoyed any royal honour or the patronage of either Ananta or Kalaśa or both.[6]

There is really no clear evidence to show that Kṣemendra was ever a court-poet under Ananta, king of Kashmir. Although both Kṣemendra and his son, Somendra have devoted several complimentary verses to King Ananta, neither of them has said anything, even indirectly, to indicate that the king was a patron of poets or that Kṣemendra was a prote'ge' of him. It cannot, however, be urged that because Kṣemendra wrote some stanzas in praise of King Ananta, he was necessarily a court-poet under the patronage of that king. It is indeed a fact that the writing of eulogies was but a conventional practice with ancient Indian poets in general who delighted in using hyperbolic language in honour of kings and principalities, especially of those ruling over the land of their birth and activity ; but, in the case of Kṣemendra, it was perhaps also a genuine appreciation of Ananta's valour and virtues that prompted the poet to write some verses in his praise. It may be noticed that Bilhaṇa, too, who composed his famous

panegyric poem, Vikramāṅkadevacarita, in honour of his patron and protector, King Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa, provided in the same work a long account in praise of Ananta, his wife Sūryamatī, their son Kalaśa and grandson Harṣa, with whom obviously the poet had no relation but that they belonged to the royal family then ruling over Kashmir, his native land. Both Bilhaṇa and Somadeva have praised Ananta for valour and many virtues, but neither of them mentions him as a patron of poets. Kalhaṇa who recognises Kṣemendra as a poet does not describe him as having enjoyed royal favour, nor does the great historian in his rather long and detailed account of Ananta mention Kṣemendra or anybody else as a court-poet under the king, although in the Rājataraṅgiṇī we come across names of kings whom Kalhaṇa describes as patrons of letters and also of scholars and poets who enjoyed royal patronage.[7] As mentioned before,[8] there occurs in Kṣemendra's Suvṛttatilaka a verse attributed to one Kalaśaka who is supposed to be identical with Kalaśa, son of King Ananta. As it follows from the supposition generally entertained by scholars in regard to the probable place of the book in the chronological order of Kṣemendra's works, the Suvṛttatilaka was composed several years before 1059 A.D., the date of composition of Aucityavicāracarcā,[9] that is to say, at a time when Ananta was the ruling king and in the height of his glory, and Kalaśa a young boy still in the warm embrace of filial affection. The verse in question, quoted by Kṣemendra in his Suvṛttatilaka, appears there as an example of a bad type of Rathoddhatā metre which, 'having no *visarga* at the end of its feet, lacks lustre, like a proud woman whose pride has been humbled and who shows attachment without being importuned.' This is no doubt a significant fact which constitutes a potent opposition to any conjectured probability of Kṣemendra having been in the court of King Ananta. Kṣemendra was a dignified poet, who had evidently attained maturity in age and poetry at the time of writing the Suvṛttatilaka. Supposing that the poet had been then enjoying directly the favour and patronage of King Ananta and necessarily of his illustrious wife Sūryamatī too, it can hardly be conceived how he (Kṣemendra) could have the zeal to present, by way of

illustrating an inferior type of metrical composition, none else than a budding poet, the young beloved son of the royal couple, who was naturally entitled to the poet's affection and encouragement rather than censure and criticism.

As he advanced in years, Kalaśa grew to be a scholar and a reputed poet too. This is but evident from Bilhaṇa's allusion to him as already mentioned by us[10] and the fact that he has been quoted in some of the important anthologies, viz., Śārṅgadharapaddhati, Vallabhadeva's Sūbhāṣitāvalī and Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvalī.[11] But, whether Kalaśa was as well a patron of scholars and poets cannot be ascertained from either Bilhaṇa or Kalhaṇa or any other source known to us, excepting one single expression, i.e., 'guṇibāndhavaḥ'[12] by Somadeva, which means that he (Kalaśa) was a friend to men of parts. According to Kalhaṇa, again, in the period after 1062 A.D., the only true friends of poets were, king Bhoja of Dhārā and Ananta's brother-in-law, Kṣitipati, lord of Lohara.[13] It remains also an open question why Bilhaṇa left his native land in search of adequate scope for his poetry and fortune, in the period when Kalaśa was perhaps a fullfledged king of Kashmir. May we not suppose that the ambitious poet could have no reason to harbour the hope for royal patronage under Kalaśa's rule ? Be that as it may. The fact that Kṣemendra had almost reached the close of his career when Kalaśa was made the king and that the poet's attitude to Kalaśa is apparently one of distaste and disgust and further that Somadeva, who composed the Kathāsaritsāgara to comfort Kalaśa's mother Sūryamatī[14] and had evidently great intimacy with the royal family, does not make any mention of his senior contemporary, Kṣemendra, who was also his pioneer in epitomising the Bṛhatkathā tales, would incline us to believe that Kṣemendra had never been in the court of Kalaśa.

Kṣemendra was a free man, financially and otherwise. Neither did he need any material favour, nor did he seem to have a craze for cheap popularity and honour that is gifted or purchased. Poetry was not a mere pastime with him ; he often employed the literary art as an instrument for impart-

ing instruction to the populace and for purging the contemporary society of Kashmir of its evils and depravities. The spirit of liberty and uprightness runs through his compositions as a whole. All this would not prehaps have been possible if he were a prote′ge′ of a king, labouring under the obligation of catering always to the sweet will and caprices of his master only to receive favour and fortune as the price in exchange. Kṣemendra hated the profession of a bard or a court-poet and felt very much for the sad unholy plight to which the Muses are reduced by poets taking to that profession. The following verse of Kṣemendra will speak for itself :

> Kavibhirnṛpasevāsu citrālaṁkārahāriṇī /
> Vāṇī veśyeva lobhena paropakaraṇīkṛtā / /[15]

> [By poets in their efforts to serve the king, Vāṇī (the goddess of learning), charming on account of various embellishments, is, out of avarice, turned into a material for (the pleasure of) others, like a prostitute captivating (the mind) with diverse ornaments].

Chapter Eight

HIS TEACHERS AND ADVISERS

Kṣemendra, manifestly with a sense of pride and gratification amply justified, records his association with Abhinavagupta who is undoubtedly one of the bright luminaries in the firmament of Indian scholarship. Kṣemendra studied Sāhitya under this great Ācārya who is said to have had as many as twelve hundred pupils.[1] Insatiable was Abhinava's thirst for knowledge. He studied under twenty different teachers.[2] In the words of Dr. K. C. Pāṇḍey, "noble was his birth, loving and gentle his temper, honest and rigorous his life, strong and admirable his character, brilliant and highly useful his career, memorable and lasting his contribution to both poetics and philosophy. . . ."[3] Dr. Pāṇḍey names Kṣemendra as one of the writers directly influenced by Abhinava.[4] Although Kṣemendra's works bear a distinct stamp of his own apparently denying the assumption of Abhinava's direct influence on his literary career, yet, it must be admitted, the poet's character and moral ideology as reflected in his works seem to owe their weight and dimension largely to the influence of the great Abhinavagupta's stupendous personality.

Dr. Pāṇḍey remarks that Kṣemendra's connection with Abhinavagupta "cannot at all be said to have been so close as that of Kṣemarāja."[5] In support of the above statement, the learned scholar advances the following argument : "he (i.e. Kṣemendra) refers to Abhinava, so far as we know, only once i.e. in the Mahābhārata-Mañjarī, wherein he speaks of having heard Abhinava's lectures on poetics. . . . We know that even today there is a marked difference between Śiṣya and Śrotā. The difference may be said to be similar to that which exists in the present-day colleges between a registered

and a casual student."[6] The above argument, in our opinion, is open to the following objections :

(i) Kṣemendra refers to Abhinava not only in the Mahābhāratamañjarī but in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī also, although the two verses regarding Abhinava as available in the abovenamed works are identical in every respect except that the two halves in the one are transposed in the other.

(ii) It is perhaps not always by the mere statistical method applied to references by different persons about a man that their relative intimacy with that particular man can be rightly determined. The right conclusion in such cases may rather be obtained from a comparative study of the tone and spirit of the references as well as of other evidences, if any, reflecting the mutual relation in actual and cultural spheres of life.

(iii) It is difficult to draw a permanent line of distinction between a Śiṣya and a Śrotṛ. A Śiṣya is invariably a Śrotṛ, and a Śrotṛ is not necessarily one other than a Śiṣya. The Upaniṣadic injunction, "Śrotavyo Mantavyo Nididhyāsitavyaḥ", enjoins *Śravaṇa* as the first essential duty for a deserving disciple intent on attaining to the knowledge of the Self. The act of *Śravaṇa* performed in the right spirit and in the right manner justifies one's relation as a regular *Śiṣya* with one's teacher. In Kṣemendra's statement : "Śrutvābhinavaguptākhyāt sāhityaṁ bodha-vāridheḥ/Ācāryaśekharamaṇervidyā-vivṛtikāriṇaḥ / /", the fifth case-ending in 'Ācārya-śekharamaṇeḥ', conveying the sense of *Apādānakāraka*, indicates that the great Ācārya Abhinavagupta was Kṣemendra's *Ākhyātṛ* or teacher in the true sense of the term, implying the sense of *Upayoga* (i.e. *Niyamapūrvakavidyāsvīkāra*) on the part of his pupil, Kṣemendra.[7] Hence, in the light

of grammatical law also, the verse quoted above indicates that Kṣemendra was no less a regular pupil of Abhinava than Kṣemarāja or anybody else was. It may be noted that Kṣemarāja also, in a concluding verse of his Spanda-Sandoha, while recording his indebtedness to his teacher, Abhinava, describes himself as his Śrotṛ in a fashion similar to that followed by Kṣemendra in the verse given above.[8]

In our opinion, therefore, Kṣemendra was not only an ardent admirer but a regular student of Abhinava from whom he received lessons in poetry and poetics, if not in other subjects also. In spite of the fact that Kṣemendra unlike Kṣemarāja and some others took to a different line of literary pursuit best suited to his distinctive taste and temperament and did not remain Abhinava's follower in every sense of the term, the poet cannot forsooth be said to have had with his much-too-respected Ācārya a connection which was very casual and not at all close. Dr. P. V. Kane seems to have recognised the depth and sanctity of Kṣemendra's intimacy with his teacher, Abhinavagupta. Thus, the learned scholar observes : "In the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī he (i.e. Kṣemendra) tells us that he learnt Sāhitya *at the feet of Abhinavagupta.*"[9] Dr. Subhadra Jhā also speaks of Kṣemendra as a 'disciple' of Abhinavagupta.[10] Dr. P. L. Vaidya too honestly describes him as 'a pupil of Abhinavagupta,'[11] apparently leaving no doubt regarding the normalcy of Kṣemendra's relation as a pupil with his teacher, Abhinava. Prof. Le'vi similarly does not appear to have betrayed any hesitation in acknowledging the subsistence of a very normal and regular relation between Abhinava and Kṣemendra, when he says : "we find again the names of some of his masters, the celebrated Abhinava, ..."[12] Dr. Bühler and Prof. Peterson have both made a plain statement to the effect that Kṣemendra studied the Alaṁkāraśāstra under the famous Abhinavaguptācārya, without raising any question as to whether Kṣemendra was a regular or casual student of Abhinava.[13]

In the Aucityavicāracarcā there is mention of one Gaṅgaka whom Kṣemendra describes as his Upādhyāya.[14] Dr. P. V. Kane mentions his name as Bhaṭṭa Gaṅgaka.[15] In the available editions of the Aucityavicāracarcā we come across as many as eight names with the word 'Bhaṭṭa' prefixed to them.[16] Of these, the names, Bhaṭṭa Prabhākara, Bhaṭṭa Laṭṭana, Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa and Bhaṭṭa Tauta occur once each, while each of the two names, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭendurāja, occurs twice and the name Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa thrice, in the same unaltered form, under different topics of illustration. Similarly, of the other names which are without the word 'Bhaṭṭa' prefixed to them and are mentioned more than once in the text, none presents a case of any change in its form. It is only the name 'Bhavabhūti' which is mentioned twice as 'Bhavabhūti' but once as 'Bhaṭṭa Bhavabhūti'. Barring this single exception, there exists not a single case to exhibit lack of consistency on the part of poet Kṣemendra in giving the different name-forms in the text under reference. Hence, the absence of 'Bhaṭṭa' as a prefix to the name 'Gaṅgaka' as mentioned by Kṣemendra should not be taken as a case of careless omission on the part of the poet. Got by heredity or acquired by personal merit, 'Bhaṭṭa' is usually recognised as a title of honour indicating great scholarship. Kṣemendra in naming his respected teacher, Gaṅgaka would not in all probability have dropped this title if he (i.e. Gaṅgaka) had really owned it. It would not, therefore, be proper to accept 'Bhaṭṭa Gaṅgaka' as a genuine and innocent substitute for the name 'Gaṅgaka'. The name 'Bhaṭṭagaṅgana' as given by Dr. Subhadra Jhā[17] appears to be a confused form of the real name 'Gaṅgaka'. It may be mentioned in this connection that Prof. Peterson,[18] Prof. Le'vi,[19] Dr. Aufrecht,[20] Pt. Kaul,[21] Dr. Sūryakānta,[22] Dr. A. Sharmā along with his colleagues,[23] and others including Mr. N. N. Vasu,[24] Dr. P. L. Vaidya[25] and Dr. Krishṇamāchāriār[26] have all given the name as 'Gaṅgaka' and not as 'Bhaṭṭa Gaṅgaka' or 'Bhaṭṭagaṅgana'.

Dr. P. V. Kane describes Gaṅgaka as Kṣemendra's 'guru'.[27] It is not clear what Dr. Kane means to signify by the term 'guru' here. A 'guru' is defined by Manu thus : Niṣekādīni

karmāṇi yaḥ karoti yathāvidhi/Sambhāvayati cānnena sa vipro gururucyate[28] / / We have no reason to suppose that Gaṅgaka was Kṣemendra's 'guru' in the above sense of the term. According to Manu, as upādhyāya who renders service to a person by imparting instruction in any subject, whether such instruction is of a considerable amount or not, is also called a 'guru' and should be treated as such.[29] In the light of the above explanation of the term in question, there cannot be any objection to saying that Gaṅgaka was Kṣemendra's guru. According to Kṣemendra's own version, however, Gaṅgaka was his 'upādhyāya'. It is not known whether Kṣemendra uses the term 'upādhyāya' in this connection in its strictly technical sense as given in the Manusaṁhitā.[30] Whether it was Veda or Vedāṅga or Sāhitya or any other subject that Kṣemendra studied under Gaṅgaka, it is quite evident that the poet received useful training under him, for Kṣemendra makes a respectful mention of Gaṅgaka expressly pronouncing him as his teacher. It is not unlikely that Gaṅgaka was his paid teacher, for a paid teacher, according to Dharmaśāstra, is called an upādhyāya,[31] and Kṣemendra had the means to spend adequately for proper education. That Gaṅgaka was not a teacher only but a poet too can be guessed from the evidence of literary faculty as contained in his single known verse which Kṣemedra quotes in the Aucityavicāracarca as an example of propriety of benedictory expressions. The verse is as follows :

Sa ko'pi premārdraḥ praṇayaparipākapracalito
Vilāso'kṣṇāṁ deyāt sukhamanupamaṁ vo mṛgadṛśām /
Yadākūtaṁ dṛṣṭvāpidadhati mukhaṁ tūṇavivare
Nirastavyāpārā bhuvanajayinaḥ pañcaviśikhāḥ / /

[Dr. Sūryakānta renders the above verse into English thus : May that indescribable play of the eyes of the fawn-eyed ladies grant you unparallelled joy—the play of the eyes which is steeped in love and throbbing with the intensity of affection and seeing whose wondrous (deeds), (love's) five arrows which conquered

the world, relinquishing their work, hide their faces in the quiver.—Kṣemendra Studies, p. 170.]

It is indeed a fine verse in the Śikhariṇī metre, sweetly jingling with unconceited alliteration, decently couched in an unassuming language, not stuffed with external embellishments but replete with suggestion and easy appeal, standing alone as a granite testimony to Gaṅgaka's maturity as a poet. Prof. Le'vi has paid him his appropriate tribute by mentioning Gaṅgaka as 'the poet Gangaka'.[32] From the tone and contents of the verse as quoted above it appears that it is probably not a stray verse but a part of a complete work now lost to us. As in the case of many other authors whom he has quoted, Kṣemendra has not given the name of the work where the verse in question occurs. Probably the supposed original containing the verse was a treatise on Sex-science or a book of verses extolling and expounding the ravels of the god of Love and the excitants and associates thereof or a book like Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanīmata, the first verse[33] of which calls forth a comparison with Gaṅgaka's verse under discussion. As regards Gaṅgaka's identity, the following observation by Dr. Sūryakānta deserves notice: "We find no man of exactly the same name in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. However, one Gaṅga is mentioned as a friend of king Saṅgrāmarāja who ruled during 1003-28 A.D. He died soon after his friend's accession. The identification is open to no serious objection."[34]

Kṣemendra expresses his sincerest adoration for Soma,[35] an Ācārya of the Bhāgavata school, whom he honoured perhaps more than he did Abhinavagupta.[36] By the (grace of the) pollen-dust of Soma's lotus-feet, as the poet gratefully puts it, he, having had Nārāyaṇa as his supreme resort, attained the highest value of his life. May it not be supposed that Kṣemendra's son, Somendra (the name 'Somendra' being obviously formed by the combination of 'Soma' and 'Indra') was so named by his father just out of an emotional fondness cherished by the latter for the holy name of his revered teacher, i.e., Soma? The verse containing Kṣemendra's expression of respect for this Soma, which is given below in the

foot-note[35], occurs, as is also noted there, in the Mahābhārata-mañjarī as well as in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī ; and in both the works the said verse comes immediately after the one which speaks of Kṣemendra's teacher, Abhinavagupta. It is to be noticed that these two verses are not, from the syntactical point of view, mutually independent, but that, when read together and interpreted with special regard to the implication of the suffix 'ktvāc'[37] in 'śrutvā' occurring in the verse referring to Abhinava, the verses referred to would of grammatical necessity indicate that Kṣemendra came in contact with Soma after he had completed his course of study in Sāhitya under Abhinava. According to Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstrī,[38] Dr. P. L. Vaidya,[39] Dr. A. Sharmā[40] and others, Kṣemendra received higher education from Ācārya Soma as much from Ācārya Abhinavagupta and Upādhyāya Gaṅgaka. Mr. N. N. Vasu in his Viśvakoṣa observes that Kṣemendra studied 'Dharma-Śāstra' with Soma. Prof. Le'vi says : 'Kṣemendra's early years were loyal to the Saivite cult of which his father had been a fervent devotee. But later on he converted himself to Vaiṣṇavism and received from the noted Ācārya Soma the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas'.[41] Le'vi does not appear to have recognised in clear terms the absolute agency of Soma in the matter of Kṣemendra's conversion to Vaiṣṇavism. He rather seems to be of the belief that the poet leaned towards Vaiṣṇavism independently of Soma who, however, initiated him into the Bhāgavata cult of the particular religious faith by interpreting the doctrine to the poet's entire satisfaction and securing his happy conviction in it. Kṣemendra's scope of education received from Soma, according to Le'vi's observation as above, was confined to religion only. According to the statements of Dr. P. V. Kane[42] and Dr. Sūryakānta,[43] Soma's role in relation to Kṣemendra seems to have been exclusively that of one converting the poet to the Vaṣṇava faith. Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstrī also believes that 'he (i.e. Kṣemendra) leaned towards the Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of Soma Bhāgavata.'[44] Dr. Būhler says : 'Kṣemendra himself seems to have been in his youth a Śaiva, but later he was converted to Vaiṣṇava-Bhāgavata creed by Somācārya.'[45] Dr. Krishṇamāchāriār too does not say anything more in this regard than

that 'Kṣemendra became Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata under the teachings of Ācārya Soma.'[46] According to E. Krishṇamāchārya also, 'Kṣemendra got initiation in the Bhāgavata cult from Soma.'[47]

A plain analysis of Kṣemendra's verse referring to Soma (fn. 35) hardly gives us anything else than the following points : (i) Soma was a teacher of the Bhāgavata school ; (ii) Kṣemendra was immensely benefited by his contact with Ācārya Soma whom he held in high esteem ; and (iii) Nārāyaṇa was the be-all and end-all of Kṣemendra's existence. Knit into a whole, again, the above points would give us a glimpse of Kṣemendra's religious life and suggest his religio-academic relation with Soma. The verse in question provides no tangible ground for us to believe that it was Soma who converted Kṣemendra to Vaiṣṇavism or that it was this Ācārya whose influence or instruction was solely responsible for the adoption by Kṣemendra of the Bhāgavata cult. As there is nothing clearly stated in the verse under discussion or elsewhere regarding Soma's specific contribution in the matter of Kṣemendra's conversion or his evolution of religious faith and practice, it may quite reasonably be supposed that Kṣemendra by his own temperamental inclination possibly stimulated by some internal and external factors got initiated into the Vaiṣṇava faith and that he discovered in Soma the true guide of his choice under whom probably he studied various Śāstras bearing on religion and other allied topics. Dr. T. Aufrecht remarks : 'Kṣemendra learned Sāhitya from Abhinavagupta and religion from Soma.'[48] It would be in the fitness of things to suppose that the truth-seeking Kṣemendra got enlightenment from Soma's teachings and that the poet's pining, peace-loving heart got support and solace by contact with the Ācārya's holy personality. Pt. Kaul observes : 'Abhinavagupta and Soma were his (i.e. Kṣemendra's) teachers not only in the secular studies but also in the spiritual realm'.[49] There is obviously nothing in Kṣemendra's statement to show that Abhinava was his teacher in the spiritual realm also, although nobody can at once gainsay the possibility of Abhinava's spiritual ideas having wielded remarkable influence in fashioning

the mental make-up of his young devoted pupil, Kṣemendra. Pt. Kaul has, in fact, categorically remarked that 'his (i.e. Kṣemendra's) admiration for Śaivism was further enkindled by the teaching of Abhinavagupta.'[50] Kṣemendra's statement regarding Soma, again, evidently suggests the holy relation of an inspired disciple and his respected teacher subsisting between them (i.e., Kṣemendra and Soma), and further contains nothing to oppose the probability that Soma was his teacher not only in the religious or spiritual realm in its ceremonial or devotional aspect but also in academic matters relating to religion or spiritualism as well as to secular topics. Considering the young age of the budding poet who had then just embarked, with determinate potential force, on his own ambitious career of a poet, the diversity of his interest and his comprehensive genius as evidenced by his entire literary production, it would perhaps be harbouring too narrow an idea to think that Kṣemendra after coming in contact with Soma forgot himself and the whole world around him and got immersed in religion or spiritualism only.

It may be pointed out that the name of the above mentioned teacher of Kṣemendra has been rightly given as Soma by Prof. S. Le'vi,[51] Dr. T. Aufrecht[52] and Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstrī.[53] Dr. G. Būhler,[54] Dr. P. V. Kane,[55] Dr. M. Krishṇamāchāriār,[56] Dr. A. Sharmā and others[57] who call him Somācārya probably mean the same name, for, strictly speaking, 'Somācārya' may be taken not as a proper name by itself but as a word formed by combining the proper name 'Soma' with 'Ācārya' as a title of honour. E. Krishṇamāchārya, too, perhaps means 'Soma' to be the real name of the teacher, whom he calls 'Somadeva', the word 'deva' having probably been attached to 'Soma' just as a mark of respect for the esteemed Ācārya.[58] Dr. Sūryakānta, however, gives the name as Somapāda.[59] Mr. N. N. Vasu also seems to have taken 'Somapāda' as the name of the teacher.[60] This appears to be an error probably caused by a confusion in respect of the meaning and the connection of the word 'pāda' as it occurs along with 'Soma' and 'Avja' in Kṣemendra's verse[61] referring to this teacher of his. The first half of the verse consists

of a single compounded expression wherein evidently the two feet of Soma are identified with a pair of lotuses and the two words 'Somapāda' and 'Avja' are combined together in the so-called *Rūpaka-Samāsa* under the provision of the rule 'Mayūravyaṁsakādayaśca.'[62] If 'Somapāda' is considered, as it is actually done by some scholars named above, to be the real name of the Ācarya, with 'pāda' as an elemental part of it, the expression in question would invariably present a serious difficulty in getting at a sensible interpretation of the same, for in that case the Ācarya himself bearing the supposed name 'Somapāda' has to be identified with a lotus, whereby the whole expression would offer a meaning not only contrary to convention but also repugnant to sense and imagination. It is also deserving of notice that Dr. P. L. Vaidya[63] gives the name as 'Somapāla.' Whether 'Somapāla' is the fuller form of the Ācarya's name which is given merely as 'Soma' in the verse under discussion or whether Dr. Vaidya reads 'pāla' for the word, 'pāda' as it occurs compounded with 'Soma' in the said verse, is not known to us. In the absence of any tradition yet available or some concrete evidence in support, we cannot possibly accept the name 'Somapāla' for 'Soma'; nor can we for the sake of a sensible interpretation of the verse in question entertain 'pāla' as a variant permissible for 'pāda' in the said verse.

In the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī[64] there is mention of one Devadhara at whose command Kṣemendra composed the said epitome of Guṇāḍhya's tales. According to the words of Kṣemendra, Devadhara seems to have been a man of vast scholarship, occupying an eminent position in the Brāhmaṇical community of contemporary Kashmir. Prof. Le'vi names Devadhara as one of Kṣemendra's friends.[65] Dr. Sūryakānta, however, thinks that he was probably Kṣemendra's teacher.[66] In consideration of his learning and position in society and, in particular, of Kṣemendra's absolute obedience to his order, it may be argued that Devadhara was not perhaps a mere 'friend' of Kṣemendra but that he (i.e. Devadhara) enjoyed a superior position in relation to the poet. Obviously he was a pretty senior man of a higher order having the privilege of

dictating the cultural activities within his circle. Kṣemendra does not say anything definitely as to whether Devadhara was his teacher in any subject or subjects. But it is quite evident that the poet had close contact wih this great scholar of striking personality whose instruction and inspiration put the poet under a debt of gratitude and academic allegiance. The composition by Kṣemendra of a voluminous work like the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī owes its prime urge to Devadhara; perhaps Devadhara was not alive when Kṣemendra advanced further in his line of literary activity, for, otherwise, he (Devadhara) might have been similarly associated with the composition of some more works of the poet.

In his introduction to the Avadānakalpalatā, Kṣemendra's son Somendra, while giving his brief but precious account of the incidents connected with the composition of the first 107 chapters of the said work of Kṣemendra, mentions one Vīryabhadra[67] who seems to have been a scholar in Buddhistic literature and philosophy and perhaps also a Buddhist himself. Somendra speaks very highly of Vīryabhadra whom he describes as an Ācārya shining with wisdom and glowing with good deeds of great renown, with his mind deeply absorbed in and completely dedicated to the study of the Śāstras dealing with the teachings of the Buddha. Kṣemendra was immensely helped by this great savant in his prosecution of studies in the profound Buddhistic philosophy. By saying that Vīryabhadra acted like a 'Ratna-Pradīpa' unto Kṣemendra in the latter's treading the path of this difficult philosophy, Somendra obviously compares him to 'Ratna' (jewel) serving the purpose of a 'Pradīpa' (lamp),[68] evidently signifying thereby that Vīryabhadra was the worthiest of the members of his community of the day, being effulgent with the eternal brilliance of knowledge dispelling the darkness of ignorance around the Buddhistic lore. It is stated that Vīryabhadra, of his own accord, visited Kṣemendra's house and extended his best assistance in the matter of the poet's enterprise for preparing a compilation of the Avadānas. This not only bespeaks Vīryabhadra's academic generosity which was spontaneous but also perhaps indicates prior existence of Kṣemendra's close

relation with this great scholar as also the poet's genuine craving for knowledge which knew no vanity and succeeded in collecting the benign influence and useful guidance of almost all the living masters of the time and the place he belonged to. Regarding this Vīryabhadra, Dr. Sūryakānta observes as follows : "Vīryabhadra appears in Somendra's introduction to the Avadānakalpalatā only as an authority on Buddhistic texts. Obviously he held no high office either in the royal circles or at the vihāras, otherwise Somendra must have mentioned his office. The Rājataraṅgiṇī also ignores Vīryabhadra."[69] Dr. Sūryakānta seems here to have confused absence of evidence in favour of some hypothesis with evidence against it. Usually, we cannot, indeed, deny a thing categorically on the exclusive ground that there is no specific evidence to prove it. In our opinion, Somendra's silence on the question of Vīryabhadra's office ought not to be construed necessarily to mean that Vīryabhadra held no high office either in the royal circles or at the vihāras. The fact that the Rājataraṅgiṇī does not mention him need not also likewise be interpreted to indicate that he has been ignored by Kalhaṇa for the simple alleged reason that he did not hold any important office in the political or religious sphere of Kashmir. There is evidently no legitimate ground for assuming that the Rājataraṅgiṇī, besides fulfilling its own avowed purpose, is further designed to be an encyclopaedia of names of all persons holding high office in the land of Kashmir during the period within its purview, irrespective of their bearing on the history narrated in the book. It would, therefore, perhaps be meet and right, in the present state of our knowledge, to refrain from pronouncing a definite verdict on the point at issue.

According to a statement of the poet himself, Kṣemendra was 'Sarvamanīṣi-śiṣya'.[70] As pointed out by some scholars, 'Sarvamanīṣi' may be variously interpreted : 'as a proper name, as an epithet to Gaṅgakopādhyāya and as a reference to all the eminent scholars under whom Kṣemendra had studied.'[71] The proper form of the word in question, for the matter of the above argument, should preferably be 'Sarvamanīṣin' and not 'Sarvamanīṣi' as given by Dr. A Sharmā,[72] for, even if

the word is regarded as a proper name, there is certainly no reason why as a component part of the compound, 'Sarvamanīṣiśiṣyaḥ', the form 'Sarvamanīṣi'—a meaningless word by itself, no better than such name-forms as 'Dittha', 'Davittha', etc.—should be accepted by us to the rejection of the equally possible and at the same time perfectly normal and meaningful form 'Sarvamanīṣin'. Further, the assumed basic form 'Sarvamanīṣi' (as given by Dr. Sharmā) which does not carry any meaning by itself is far from consistent with the other two interpretations suggested in respect of the expression, 'Sarvamanīṣiśiṣyaḥ'.[73] The interpretations referred to would, however, fit in very well with the meaning of the proposed form, 'Sarvamanīṣin'.

As a proper name, indeed, the word, 'Sarvamanīṣin' seems to be a bit queer. There is also no further mention by the poet of this supposed teacher of his, nor is there any reference to him available either in Somendra's account or elsewhere. It must, however, be admitted that the case cannot be mooted out merely on the above grounds. It may be conjectured that 'Sarvamanīṣin' is not really a proper name but an appellative title used to denote some renowned scholar of the time. But, in any case, whether the word is deemed as a proper name or an appellative title denoting a particular scholar-teacher, it seems strange how Kṣemendra could indulge thus in making a sudden and apparently purposeless mention of a particular personality without providing any clear reference to his identity or an account to throw some light upon him. As is evident from the poet's usual way of recounting his relation with some other personalities, e.g., Abhinava, Soma, Devadhara, etc., it seems not to be credible that Kṣemendra would thus present in a hasty and unceremonious fashion a respectable personality instead of introducing him properly to us. It may, however, be fancied that Sarvamanīṣin, though a forgotten name now, was in the time of Kṣemendra too famous a person to need any introduction or that the supposed man after that name was not a public figure but was one to whom Kṣemendra was probably related as his disciple in private spiritual matters only, so that the devout poet considered it his duty just to

pronounce the holy name and describe himself as his 'śiṣya' without going into the details about the *guru's* worldly identity and merits.

In support of the suggested interpretation making 'Sarvamanīṣin' an epithet of Gaṅgaka, nothing more can perhaps be said than that the name of Kṣemendra's teacher, Gaṅgaka is mentioned in the same work (i.e., Aucityavicāracarcā) where the poet's particular expression, 'Sarvamanīṣiśiṣyaḥ' occurs and that Gaṅgaka is the only one of Kṣemendra's teachers, who is mentioned in the said work and further that the mention of Gaṅgaka and the expression in question are not removed far from each other. The possible argument as above is, however, open to the following objections :

(i) If Kṣemendra had at all the urge, in his conclusion to the Aucityavicāracarcā, to retell his relation with Gaṅgaka mentioned earlier in the book and to record his respect for his scholarship, he might well have done it in his usual style that is by no means vague or covert.

(ii) If 'Sarvamanīṣin' is supposed to be a significant epithet of Gaṅgaka, it would mean an unreserved glorification by Kṣemendra of this particular teacher of his as superior to all other savants within his knowledge ; but then that would strike a note of sharp discord against his earlier expressions of great respect for some outstanding celebrities of his time, viz., Abhinava, Soma and Devadhara, as also for Vyāsa whom he adored in the core of his heart.

(iii) The name 'Gaṅgaka' occurs in the *body* of the book, whereas his supposed epithet 'Sarvamanīṣin' is in its *concluding portion* which merely gives an account of the poet's parentage, and the time and occasion of composition of the book, etc. Hence, although attached to the book in question as its

'Upasaṁhāra', this portion has evidently a general and independent import and intent of its own, so that it would be improper not to allow an expression occurring in that particular portion to transcend the restricted range of reference and implication covered by the said book alone.

In our opinion, the expression 'Sarvamanīṣiśiṣyaḥ' as used by Kṣemendra with reference to himself most probably refers to the many eminent scholars with whom he had come in close contact and studied different branches of literature and also to all others, then living or dead, who had contributed to the cause of advancement of learning. 'Sarvamanīṣiśiṣyaḥ', therefore, means 'a disciple of all savants'. This is perhaps the only reasonable meaning which we can read in this adjunct.

Commenting on the adjunct in question, whereby Kṣemendra is supposed to have described himself as a devoted pupil of all masters of learning, Dr. Sūryakānta says : "Whether he says this out of sheer humility or he really means it is hard to decide. As he mentions three of his teachers, we may conjecture that he had studied with other teachers too".[74] By temperament Kṣemendra was evidently respectful to all scholars irrespective of time, place and creed. He also advocates it as a principle to be followed by aspiring poets that "one should be ready to be a pupil to all for the attainment of all-round scholarship."[75] In his own life also, he was probably true to his precept and practised his own tenets expounded in the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa. The versality of his genius as expressed in his prolific writings and his own candid statements attributing all the joy and success of his life to his propitiation of scholars[76] rightly testify to the above supposition (regarding the proper meaning of the adjunct under reference) which is entertained also by Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstrī.[77]

CHAPTER NINE

HIS DEVOTION TO VYĀSA AND VĀLMĪKI

Devotion to Vyāsa was an abiding feeling, a fond passion and a holy mission with Kṣemendra. His second name 'Vyāsadāsa', as already noticed by us,[1] is obviously an apt and adequate expression of this. The distinctive peculiarity of the manner Vyāsa's name is mentioned by Kṣemendra is rather eloquent on his special admiration for Vyāsa in preference to all other poets and scholars who also enjoyed his due respect and allegiance. Thus, in the Aucityavicāracarcā,[2] Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa[3] and Suvṛttatilaka,[4] Kṣemendra refers to Vyāsa with the epithet 'Bhagavat Maharṣī' or 'Bhagavat' in the sense of 'pūjya' attached to his name.[5] More than three score names of different poets and scholars have been mentioned in the abovenamed works; and among them the name 'Vyāsa' alone has obviously received a uniformly special regard. This cannot indeed be looked upon as an accident or something done by the poet without any purpose or will. Apart from the consideration of uniformity as noted above in the special treatment meted out to Vyāsa's name, in particular, there is also another point in support of our contention, which we can hardly miss; and that is the poet's uniform care about the proper way of referring to different personalities and his sense of balance untouched by emotion as revealed in the matter of pronouncing their names. Thus, while the poet mentions some names often in their original naked form probably because they are either less known or extremely familiar or conventionally not associated with any title of honour,[6] some other names, again, are mentioned with some word or words indicating respect (e.g., Bhaṭṭa, Śrī, Bhaṭṭaśrī) prefixed to them,[7] while princes, kings and other dignitaries and his pupils and a teacher of his have their names attended with expressions precisely designed to indicate their distinctive status and personality. For Kṣemendra, therefore, who thus manifestly maintains meticulous alertness about his own considered way of mentioning the many and various names in the works referred to, it was certainly an

imperative spiritual urge, in spite of his normal care for brevity and precision, which caused him to signify his feeling of supreme respect for Vyāsa by putting in the special adjuncts 'Bhagavat' and 'Maharṣi' qualifying his (Vyāsa's) name.

Kṣemendra marks out Vyāsa's place of distinction in the field of literature by rightly describing him as 'bhuvanopajīvya', i.e., 'a feeder for the whole world'.[9] The following verse quoted by the poet speaks his appropriate assessment of the supreme value of Vyāsa's Mahābhārata which, as the verse rightly puts it, is a source of materials adopted by all great poets and is like a noble master who offers sustence to all dependants desirous of attaining to prosperity:

Idaṁ kavivaraih sarvair
ākhyānamupajīvyate /
Udayaṁ prepsubhir bhṛtyair
abhijāta iveśvaraḥ //[10]

Kṣemendra's appreciation of this unique value of Vyāsa's Mahābhārata and his great respect for Vyāsa consequent thereon finds further expression in his Mahābhāratamañjarī where the initial verse of almost all the principal chapters[11] is the conventional benedictory verse of the Mahābhārata itself modified just to accommodate the name 'Vyāsa' incorporated therein; the verse runs as follows:

Nārāyaṇaṁ namaskṛtya
Naraṁ caiva narottamam /
Devīṁ Sarasvatīṁ Vyāsaṁ
tato jayamudīrayet //

We may recall here the salutation offered to Vyāsa by poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa, an illustrious predecessor of Kṣemendra. Bāṇa writes:

Namaḥ sarvavide tasmai
Vyāsāya kavi-vedhase /
Cakre puṇyaṁ Sarasvatyā
Yo varṣam iva Bhāratam //[12]

In the above verse, Bāṇa records his genuine appreciation of Vyāsa as one versed in all the branches of knowledge, as the prime poet and as the composer of the sacred book, the Mahābhārata, which the poet (Bāṇa) compares to a shower for Sarasvatī to blossom. Bāṇa's homage to Vyāsa embodies quite aptly and justly the perennial feeling of respect cherished by Indian poets through the ages towards Vyāsa and his unique creation, the Mahābhārata. In Kṣemendra, we find this normal feeling of a rational reverence for Vyāsa precipitating into a divine spirit of devotional enthusiasm, which illumined the poet's mental horizon. The first verse of the Ādiparvan of his Mahābhāratamañjarī reflects this emotional disposition of the poet's mind. The verse reads as follows :

Samastavadanodgītabrahmaṇe
Brahmaṇe namaḥ /
Namaḥ Prajāpatibhyaś ca
Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyanāya ca / /

It is noteworthy that in the above verse Vyāsa is propitiated in the same devotional strain along with god Brahman and the Prajāpatis ; this perhaps reveals how the poet was disposed to conceive of Vyāsa as entitled to rather a superhuman status.

In verse no. 790[13] of the Droṇaparvan of the Mahābhāratamañjarī, Kṣemendra describes Vyāsa as follows : The sage (i.e. Vyāsa) is 'Akṛṣṇa' (white, pure), though he is 'Kṛṣṇa' (by name Kṛṣṇa, i.e., Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, or having a dark complexion). He is 'Jñānasahasrarasmiḥ' (the thousand-rayed sun of knowledge). Further, he is 'Apāravedāmṛtasindhusetuḥ' (the bridge over the ocean of the nectar of the unlimited Veda). Besides, he is the king of swans in the 'Mānasa' (mind, or the lake by that name) of Sarasvatī.

The Vyāsāṣṭaka forming just a portion of the autobiographical account given in the concluding verses of the Mahābhāratamañjarī contains the poet's full-throated expression of

ecstatic devotion to Vyāsa, whom he describes there as one shining brilliantly with the flaming glow of knowledge, promoting the culture of the vast and varied Śāstras, as the quintessence of ambrosia, as the generator of all poetic activities, as the abode of Truth, as the repository of penance, as the dispeller of darkness and the terminator of worldly pain. He also compares Vyāsa to a thousand-boughed tree in the garden of Dharma, bearing blossoms of 'Sattvapratiṣṭhā' and fruits of 'Nirvāṇa', thus :

Namaḥ sahasraśākhāya
Dharmopavanaśākhine /
Sattvapratiṣṭhāpuṣpāya
Nirvāṇaphalaśāline / /[14]

Without going into further details of his appreciation of Vyāsa as embodied in the Vyāsāṣṭaka, we may say that Kṣemendra's conception of this personality is superbly sublime and magnificent. The single short verse in the Suvṛttatilaka, where the poet pays homage to Vyāsa, is also pulsating with profound admiration for this holy personage. The verse runs as follows :

Namaśchandonidhānāya
suvṛttācāravedhase /
Tapaḥsatyanivāsāya
Vyāsāyāmitatejase // [15]

[Salutation to Vyāsa of immense lustre, the treasure-house of (different kinds of) metres, an authority on good conduct and etiquette, and the very abode of asceticism and truth.[16]]

In view of the above it may be affirmed that Kṣemendra in every way was pre-eminently guided and stimulated by Vyāsa who seems to have seized his whole consciousness probably since the prime of his life.

An honest connoisseur of merits, Kṣemendra had a great respect for Vālmīki, too, whom he praises in the Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī with all the sincerity of a true poet. Although Vyāsa is almost a god to him, Ksemendra does not fail to discover the greatness of Vālmīki and record his importance as the first Indian poet who excels in his wealth of choicest expressions that captivate the heart of his readers. In the following verses, our poet pays homage to Vālmīki.

Jyeṣṭho jayati Vālmīkiḥ
Sargabandhe prajāpatiḥ /
Yaḥ sarvahṛdayālīnaṁ
kāvyaṁ Rāmāyaṇaṁ vyadhāt / /[17]
Svacchapravāhasubhagā
munimaṇḍalasevitā /
Yasmāt svargād ivotpannā
puṇyā prācī sarasvatī'//[18]
Numaḥ sarvopajīvyaṁ taṁ
kavīnām cakravartinam /
Yasyendudhavalaiḥ ślokair
bhūṣitā bhuvanatrayī / /[19]
Sa vaḥ punātu Vālmīkiḥ
sūktāmṛtamahodadhiḥ /
Oṅkāra iva varṇānāṁ
kavīnāṁ prathamo muniḥ / /[20]

[Victory to Vālmīki, the earliest (poet), the Prajāpati (Creator) in respect of compositions in sargas (i.e. epic-poems), who composed the Rāmāyaṇa lying imbedded in the heart of all.

(Victory to Vālmīki), from whom originated, as though from Heaven, the holy Oriental speech, graceful on account of its lucid flow, waited upon by multitudes of sages.

My homage to him, the means of sustenance to all, the sovereign among poets, by whose verses as white as the moon, the collection of the three worlds is adorned.

May the sage Vālmīki purify us—Vālmīki, who is the great sea of the ambrosia of excellent sayings and who, like *Oṅkāra* among the letters of the alphabet, is the first among poets.]

To conclude, in giving a correct and critical review of Kṣemendra's life as a student, as a poet and as a man, we cannot afford to miss the names of Vyāsa and Vālmīki who, long since departed though, were perhaps more than living teachers to our poet, having exercised an enormous influence, at least as much as was done by Abhinava, Soma, Gaṅgaka and others taken together, in the pursuit of his career and the growth and integration of his personality.

CHAPTER TEN

HIS FRIENDS AND PUPILS

We come across the name of one Rāmayaśas mentioned by Kṣemendra in the Mahābhāratamañjarī[1] and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī[2] and by Somendra in his Introduction to the Avadānakalpalatā.[3] Rāmayaśas has been described as a Brāhmaṇa having a pure and noble mind. Kṣemendra, as the poet himself informs us, undertook the task of composing both the poetical epitomes, Mahābhāratamañjarī and Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, at the request of this Rāmayaśas. It appears that there was a sweet, friendly relation between Kṣemendra and Rāmayaśas. Prof. Le'vi observes : 'If the poet attributes the composition of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī to the entreaty of the Brāhmaṇa, Rāmayaśas, undoubtedly that is only a way of politeness and of dedication ; it may also be that his friend particularly recommended to him the work of Guṇāḍhya as an excellent subject for versification.'[4] Since Somendra describes him as 'sarvaprabandhapreraka' (i.e., one who urged the composition of all the works), it may be supposed that Rāmayaśas played an important part in setting Kṣemendra to the composition of several other works also.

The accounts at our disposal acclaim Rāmayaśas neither as a teacher, nor as a scholar, nor as a poet but as one intensely interested in Kṣemendra's literary enterprise, propelling and promoting his work more like a philosopher and guide than like a mere friend or admirer. He is like a 'whispering angel prompting the poet's golden dreams' and shines like 'the bright morning star, day's harbinger'. Kṣemendra undoubtedly was very respectful to Rāmayaśas who was evidently a fine enlightened man of generous ideas and wide imagination. Since the man's name is associated with the composition of some of the poet's earlier works, i.e., the Mahābhāratamañjarī and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, and since, further, in the Avadānakalpalatā which was composed several years later than the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Somendra records his spon-

taneous appreciation of the man's services in the literary performances of his father, Kṣemendra's connection with the man, it may be supposed, covered quite a considerable period of the former's span of poetical career.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī acquaints us with three men having the name 'Rāma'. One was an attendant of Tilakasiṁha[5] who was a son of Vijayasiṁha and one of the ministers of king Uccala (c. 1101-11 A.D.).[6] For chronological reasons, this Rāma cannot certainly be identified with Rāmayaśas. The other Rāma, called Rāmadeva, was a relative of Prabhākaradeva, minister and koṣādhyakṣa of Gopālavarman (c. 902-904 A.D.),[7] and paternal grand-uncle of Yaśaskara (c. 939-948 A.D.).[8] From chronological consideration, again, this Rāma cannot be identified with Rāmayaśas. The third one was also named Rāmadeva; he was a learned man, distinguished for his valour, and was killed by the soldiers of Ananta's son Kalaśa (c. 1063-1089 A.D.) in course of the latter's feud with his father.[9] From the stand-point of chronology and also of the fact that this Rāmadeva was a man of letters, an important personality, endowed with valour and virtue, there is obviously no reason for objection to identifying him with our Rāmayaśas; but since the two names, excepting in their hypothetical abbreviated form, are not identical, and also because there is yet no tangible evidence in our support, it would be improper to propose the said identification, however otherwise tempting. In the opinion of Dr. Sūryakānta also, 'it is unsafe to identify Rāmayaśas with any of these'.[10]

In his Introduction to the Avadānakalpalatā, Somendra mentions one Nakka who appears to have been an intimate friend of Kṣemendra. As we gather from Somendra's statement, Nakka was a devotee of the Buddha (Saugataḥ); he was renowned for his good deeds (Khyātasukṛtaḥ) and was the foremost among the virtuous (Guṇavatāṁ Varaḥ); from him emanated the first urge setting Kṣemendra to the task of writing the Avadānas.[11]

In Somendra's Introduction to the Avadānakalpalatā, Dr. Sūryakānta finds mention of one Sajjanānanda as a dear

friend of Kṣemendra.[12] "It is he", says the learned scholar, "who first requests him (Kṣemendra) to compose the Avadānakalpalatā."[13] Dr. A. Sharmā along with his colleagues, in agreement with Dr. Sūryakānta, says : "At the suggestion of Sajjanānanda, Kṣemendra had, with the help of Vīryabhadra (an authority on Buddhism), composed 107 Chapters of Bauddha A. K. Latā."[14] Dr. P. L. Vaidya similarly holds : "In the preface, Somendra tells us that Sajjanānanda requested Kṣemendra to write the Buddha's avadānas."[15] It may be mentioned that our known sources of information have failed to help us determine the identity of this supposed personality, Sajjanānanda.[16]

A careful reading of the relevant portion of Somendra's Introduction would, however, incline us to suppose that the word 'Sajjanānanda' as it occurs in verse 5 of the said text is not probably a proper name, and that, even if it is, the reference to the personage by that name is perhaps not in connection with the history of composition of the Avadānakalpalatā as given by Somendra. The text in question is as follows :

Kṣemendrastanayastasya
kavīndraḥ kīrticandrikā /
Candrasyeveditā yasya
mānasollāsinī satām / / verse 4.
Yasya Rāmayaśāh sarva-
prabandhaprerako dvijaḥ /
Prayātaḥ S(s?) ajjanānandaḥ
puṇyaḥ prathamadūtatām / / verse 5.
Taṁ kadācit sukhāsīnaṁ
suhṛdguṇavatāṁ varaḥ /
Saugataḥ khyātasukṛto
Nakka-nāmā samabhyadhāt / / verse 6.

In the first four verses of the Introduction under reference, Somendra traces the four successive generations beginning from

Bhogīndra to Kṣemendra born in the line of Narendra. The fifth verse completes the fourth ; and the two verses (nos. 4 & 5) thus form a couplet, an indivisible unit in point of sense and syntactical relation. The fourth verse, in introducing Kṣemendra as the son of Prakāśendra, gives quite relevantly an appreciation of Kṣemendra's far-spreading fame as a poet. The word 'Yasya' in verse 5 obviously refers to 'Kṣemendraḥ' occurring in verse 4, and the mention of Rāmayaśas in verse 5 thus exclusively relates itself to that of Kṣemendra's success as a poet as described in verse 4. With the fifth verse, obviously, ends a general review of Kṣemendra's ancestry and of the poet's literary distinction which necessarily brings in a grateful reconnoissance of the magnanimous Rāmayaśas who had contributed generously to that end. The sixth verse which may very well stand apart as an independent statement, grammatically complete by itself, marks the beginning of a new theme which aims at providing a history of how the Avadānakalpalatā was composed. Since the verses 6 to 16 are thus topically detached from verses 1 to 5, the supposed name 'Sajjanānanda' occurring in verse 5 cannot, except by putting an undue strain on our sense and imagination, be interpreted to fling a reference to its conjectured association with the history of composition of the Avadānakalpalatā, which, as already stated, starts right from verse 6. If, however, by correlating 'yasya' and 'tam' occurring in verse 5 and verse 6 respectively, the two verses (nos, 5 & 6) are taken to form a complete statement, and if thereby the suggested line of demarcation of themes is drawn after verse 4 instead of after verse 5 as contended by us, it would still be difficult within the range of the said two verses to find a trace of indication in favour of Dr. Sūryakānta's statement to the effect that it was Sajjanānanda who first requested Kṣemendra to compose the Avadānakalpalatā.

If, again, credence is given to Dr. Sūryakānta's statement under discussion and the question of its legitimacy or otherwise in the light of the above argument is dropped, a still more perplexing question would inevitably crop up, and that is this : Why is it that Sajjanānanda alone and not

Rāmayaśas also is said to have requested Kṣemendra to compose the Avadānakalpalatā? In fact, in the verse in question, the name of Rāmayaśas is mentioned along with the supposed name, Sajjanānanda, and the implication presumed in the case of Sajjanānanda cannot possibly be withheld from the name, Rāmayaśas, without subjecting Somendra to the unmerited charge of lack of clarity and coherence. The interpretation of Dr. Sūryakānta thus throws us into a chasm of confusion. We are, therefore, inclined to opine that verse 5 of Somendra's Introduction should go with verse 4, and that in any case verse 5 has no bearing on the history of composition of the Avadānakalpalatā, and further that 'sajjanānanda" in the text under reference is not a proper name, for, otherwise, 'prathamadūtatā' i.e., the state of being a fore-runner, which in the present context is but a figurative way of meaning the state of being a 'prabandhapreraka', has to be affirmed simultaneously of two different persons [i.e., Rāmayaśas (sarvaprabandhapreraka) and the supposed Sajjanānanda (prathamaduta)], but that does not seem to be acceptable.

We believe that in perfect similarity to the words 'puṇyaḥ', 'dvijaḥ', etc., occurring in verse 5, 'sajjanānandaḥ' meaning 'the delight of the good' or 'one having delight in the company of good men' is just another word qualifying 'Rāmayaśāḥ'; and the word in that sense would fit in quite well with the character of Rāmayaśas, as is evident from the nature of his known activities in relation to Kṣemendra's literary pursuit. It may be noted in this connection that Prof. Le′vi does not recognise, and that rightly too, any man having the name 'Sajjanānanda' in the context of Kṣemendra's life and literary career. He mentions Rāmayaśas and none else as a friend of Kṣemendra, on whose demand the poet wrote most of his works. Again, he mentions the Buddhist Nakka as one for whom our poet composed the Avadānakalpalatā, but he does not speak of anybody else in that connection.[17]

Somendra refers to one Sūryaśrī whom he calls an 'Ācārya' and admires for his proficiency in the Śāstras and his power of detecting and correcting flaws creeping into any production

on any subject.[18] He was evidently a first-rate scribe and his services were requested for copying the Avadānakalpalatā. We cannot say whether Sūryaśrī was a regular and permanent scribe of Kṣemendra, although Dr. Sūryakānta, as it appears from his statement, believes he was.[19] Probably there existed a close, friendly relation between Kṣemendra and Śūryaśrī. No further knowledge about Sūryaśrī has been yet available to scholars.

Kṣemendra's friend, Ratnasiṁha mentioned in the Aucitya-vicāracarcā[20] was, as Pt. M. S. Kaul Shāstri observes, king of Śrī-Vijayeśa.[21] Pt. Kaul's observation is presumably based on a verse occurring in the book referred to above, the first half of which reads as follows :

Śrī-Ratnasiṁhe suhṛdi prayāte
Śārvaṁ puraṁ Śrī-Vijayeśarājñi.

The word 'Śrī-Vijayeśarājñi' qualifying 'Sri-Ratnasiṁhe' in the above extract probably suggested to Pt. Kaul that Ratna-siṁha was king of Śrī-Vijayeśa. But an obvious difficulty in endorsing this interpretation is that the expression 'Śrī-Vijaye-śarājñi' cannot be expounded as 'Śrī-Vijayeśasya Rājā, Tasmin', for, in that case, with the *samāsānta* affix 'Ṭac',[22] the correct form ought to be 'Śrī-Vijayeśarāje', and a charge of gross grammatical inaccuracy like the one in question cannot indeed be levelled against Kṣemendra for the sake of a meaning of our sweet choice. Although the available editions of the work in question give us the form 'Śrī-Vijayeśarājñi', we may be given the liberty just to conjecture that this form is perhaps a scribal error for 'Śrī-Vijayasya Rājñi' in which supposed ex-pression 'Śrī-Vijaya' may be taken to mean 'Śrī-Vijayeśa' leaving no doubt regarding the appropriateness of Pt. Kaul's interpretation as noted above. The form as it actually stands before us should, however, be expounded thus : 'Sri-Vijayeśaḥ Rājā Yasya, Tasmin'. In the light of this interpretation, we may say that Ratnasiṁha had Śrī-Vijayeśa, i.e., the presiding deity of the famous shrine of Śiva Vijayeśa[23] as his King or Supreme Master. From this it follows that Ratnasiṁha was

a great devotee of Śiva—an idea which is significantly consistent with the form and spirit of the expression in which Kṣemendra puts the plain fact of his friend's death in the extract given above. It is probable that Ratnasiṁha had his residence at Vijayeśvara (Bijbihāra), and his death perhaps occurred before May, 1059 A.D., at the latest, for the Aucityavicāracarcā which, according to Kṣemendra himself, was composed after the death of this friend of his, is supposed to have been completed towards the close of May, 1059 A.D.[24] The Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions two persons having the name 'Ratna', but, for chronological reasons, Ratnasiṁha cannot be identified with either of those two Ratnas, one of whom was minister of foreign affairs to King Utpalāpīḍa whose reign ended in A.D. 855-6[25], and the other, a well-known person of Kashmir, who turned a supporter of Bhikṣācara, flourished in the first quarter of the twelfth century.[26]

Of his two pupils mentioned by Kṣemendra, Bhaṭṭa Udayasiṁha, son of his friend Ratnasiṁha, seems to have been one of the poet's favourites. As the poet himself says, he composed the Aucityavicāracarcā for this pupil of his. Udayasiṁha kept up the cultural heritage derived from his worthy teacher by taking to literary workmanship in addition to his usual functions as one in an exalted administrative post which he is supposed to have adorned. Kṣemendra mentions two Mahākāvyas, viz., Lalita and Bhaktibhava, whose author was his pupil, Udayasiṁha.[27] According to Dr. Sūryakānta, "the identification of Bhaṭṭa Udayasiṁha, Kṣemendra's pupil with Bhaṭṭa Udayasimha of the Rājataraṅgiṇī[28] is tempting, and from chronological evidence, even plausible."[29]

Kṣemendra's other pupil was Laksmaṇāditya who was also probably a poet. A verse assigned to him has been quoted by Kṣemendra in his Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa.[30] The question of identification of this Laksmaṇāditya who is mentioned as a Rājaputra with one Lakṣmaka mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī presents no doubt an important issue demanding careful consideration. Having, as he does, the honorific title 'Bṛhadrāja', Lakṣmaka shines as an important figure in the history of

Kashmir. His name is associated with Sussala (c. 1112-1120, 1121-1128), Bhikṣācara (c. 1120-1121) and Jayasiṁha (c. 1128-1149). He had a long and eventful career of royal service distinguished by admirable administrative ability, enthusiasm and skill. This Lakṣmaka is designated as Kṣattṛ and Pratīhāra in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[31] It appears that the two designations, 'Kṣattṛ' and 'Pratīhāra', had identical import. 'Kṣattṛ' has often been rendered as 'Pratīhāra',[32] and the word 'Chamberlain' has been generally used by scholars as an English equivalent for both these terms.[33] According to Dr. Sūryakānta, the only reason that militates against the identification of Kṣemendra's pupil, Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇāditya with Lakṣmaka of the Rājataraṅgiṇī as mentioned above is the improbability of a rājaputra being appointed a chamberlain.[34] In our opinion, Dr. Sūryakānta's view as stated above does not seem to be completely free from flaw. The whole weight of Dr. Sūryakānta's contention obviously rests on an idea of low status which he apparently assigns to the title 'Chamberlain' (Kṣattṛ or Pratīhāra). Keeping this in view, an inquiry deserves rightly to be instituted to determine the proper and exact import of the term, 'Kṣattṛ' (synonymous with 'Pratīhāra') as an official title current in ancient Kashmir, in the background of its variety of meanings available in ancient Indian literature beginning from the Vedic age on to the late Classical period.[35]

The name of the Kṣattṛ as a member of the Royal Council occurs in connection with the well-known Rājasūya sacrifice of the Vedic age. The ceremony of 'Ratnināṁ Havīṁṣi' reveals the importance of the Kṣattṛ as one of the twelve members constituting the early Indian administrative machinery. These members who are called 'ratnins' represent the various functionaries to whom the kingship owes its genesis and sustenance. They are thus rightly described as 'rāṣṭrasy pradātāraḥ',[36] as limbs of Kṣattra[37] and as 'rājavīras'.[38] A respectful mention of the Kṣattṛ along with the Saṁgrahītṛ is to be found in the following words : 'Namaḥ Kṣattṛbhyaḥ Saṁgrahītṛbhyaś ca Vo Namaḥ'.[39] Savitṛ is the deity to whom the offering is made in the house of the Kṣattṛ.[40] It may be

supposed that in the sacrifice 'Rājasūya', rightly so called, the Kṣattṛ stands in the same relation to the rājan as the Savitṛ (derived from the root 'Su' or 'Sū' meaning 'to impel' or 'to generate'[41]) to the universe. The statement 'Prasavitā vai Kṣattā'[42] evidently justifies this conjecture. The Kṣattṛ is thus rightly called a rājakṛt;[43] and a rājakṛt, or rājakartṛ, or rājakṛtvan, as a political term, means a High Minister, a State Functionary of high status.[44] In the light of the above, it is rather difficult to agree with Dr. U. N. Ghoshāl who considers the Kṣattṛ to be a minor officer of an humble rank belonging to the royal household only.[45]

Having its earliest use in the Ṛgveda, the term 'Kṣattṛ' frequently occurs in the later Saṁhitās as well as in the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra literature; and commentators have assigned various meanings to the word.[46] In the Dharmaśāstras, 'Kṣattṛ' denotes a mixed caste of the condemned group, superior only to the most despised Caṇḍāla.[47] The word is traceable in the Mahābhārata also, where it occurs as a name of Vidura, often as an adjunct to the name 'Vidura' itself. We have reasons to suggest that the name 'Kṣattṛ' as applied to Vidura should in all propriety be taken as a title of great honour and not in the popular undignified sense of 'bhujiṣyātanaya'. In the Bhāgavata the word is often used to mean a Pratīhāra i.e., Door-keeper, or the Officer-in-charge of a town.[48] The lexicons, both ancient[49] and modern,[50] have also recorded the various available meanings of the term.

The above survey places at our disposal the following meanings assignable to the term, 'Kṣattṛ': dvāḥstha (pratīhāra), sārathi, rathin, rathādhiṣṭhātṛ, antaḥpurādhykṣa, koṣādhyakṣa, nagarādhyakṣa, dūta, mantrin and mixed offspring. On a scrutiny of the context and the manner in which the term 'Kṣattṛ' (or 'Pratīhāra') is used in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the Kathāsaritsāgara, and on a close study of the career of Lakṣmaka (designated as both Kṣattṛ and Pratīhāra) as described by Kalhaṇa, and also on a comparative examination of the many other official titles current in ancient Kashmir, it would appear that the term, 'Kṣattṛ' (or 'Pratīhāra'), in reference to

the administrative set-up of ancient Kashmir, most probably means a Dvāḥstha, i.e., Door-keeper. That the Kṣattṛ or Pratīhāra in Kashmir was not an ordinary door-keeper, but that the officer held an important port-folio and was given important duties to perform, having the rare privilege of free and private access to the king, whenver needed, would be evident from many relevant passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the Kathāsaritsāgara. In view of all this, it becomes an irresistible conclusion that in ancient Kashmir the Kṣattṛ or Pratīhāra belonging to the personal staff of the king was a very important functionary, an influential member of the government, enjoying high status and the greatest confidence of the king, with his normal duty of helping the king in matters of interview, conference and judgment etc., and having no restriction imposed upon the nature and extent of additional work he might be required or called upon to perform in the interest of the king and his kingdom.

In the light of our findings as above, we cannot really entertain the suspected improbability of a rājaputra being appointed a chamberlain (Kṣattṛ or Pratīhāra). Hence, if not from any other consideration, especially that of age and chronology, the identification of Kṣemendra's pupil, Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇāditya with Chamberlain Lakṣmaka of the Rajataraṅgiṇī cannot possibly be exploded merely on the ground advanced by Dr. Sūryakānta.

Chapter Eleven

HIS WORKS—THEIR RECOVERY

The following survey means to present in bare broad outlines an account of the way and the extent as well as of the character of recovery, through successive years, of the varied and numerous contributions in the field of letters by the polygraph Kṣemendra, who had been, so to speak, a lost personality about even a century ago.

Kṣemendra was only a name before 1871 A.D. The only things, mostly by way of reference, available about that time under the unidentified name 'Kṣemendra' were the following: (i) One history of Kashmir,[1] (ii) A lexicon,[2] (iii) Bṛhatkathā,[3] (iv) Kṣemendraprakāśa,[4] (v) Some Avadānas,[5] and (vi) Citations in Śārṅgadharapaddhati.[6] Scholars, however, could not then think in favour of assigning to one single individual the authorship of all the above compositions which are obviously so different in character.[7]

The period from 1871 to 1886 A.D. makes an important chapter in the history of Indological research, in so far as the years in question are characterised by a steady and significant unveiling of the many works of Kṣemendra, which had long since disappeared from public view.

Dr. A. C. Burnell's discovery of a copy of Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathā in the palace of Tanjore marks the august beginning of the poet's reappearance into reality. Announcement of this discovery was made by Burnell himself in September, 1871.[8] Immediately after Burnell, Dr. G. Bühler discovered a copy of the said work at Gujarat.[9] Bühler describes his discovery of this second manuscript of the Bṛhatkathā as the real recovery of the work. In Bühler's opinion, no other copy of the book was hitherto accessible to European Sanskritists.[10] Bühler

also informs us that the Bṛhatkathā was not procurable in Kashmir though local scholars had heard about it and hoped to get copies of it in course of time.[11]

Būhler published some portion of his copy of the Bṛhatkathā in The Indian Antiquary, Vol. I. October 4, 1872 A.D., the date of publication of the above volume, is thus a red-letter day in the history of resurrection of Kṣemendra's works. So far as we know, it was on this date that Kṣemendra first saw the light after a long sojourn in the land of oblivion. Some stray verses of Kṣemendra, however, had already come to the notice of scholars, but the academic world at large did not really have any way a free and open access to some important work of Kṣemendra, though published in part, prior to that date.

In 1873-74, Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra first discovered the Kalāvilāsa.[12] This was a manuscript in Bengali character, dated Samvat 1821. Soon after Dr. Mitra's discovery of the work Dr. Būhler bought a copy of the same at Bikaner.[13] According to Būhler's observation, the Kalāvilāsa was unknown in Kashmir.[14]

In 1874-75, Būhler obtained from Bhuj the Bhāratamañjarī.[15] He procured at Kashmir his second copy of the work in 1875-76. It was a paper manuscript in Śāradā script, dated Saptarṣi 93.[16] In the same year (i.e., 1875-76) Būhler purchased two complete paper copies in Devanāgarī of the Cārucaryā[17] at Kashmir and his second copy of the Bṛhatkathā at Bharuch (Broach). The manuscript of the Bṛhatkathā too was a paper copy in Devanāgarī ; it was dated Samvat 1718 and was not complete.[18] During the said year Būhler also procured at Kashmir the following hitherto unknown works of Ksemendra : (i) Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra—two paper copies (complete) ; of these one copy was in Śāradā character and the other one in Devanāgarī[19] ; (ii) Daśāvatāracarita—two paper copies (complete) ; one copy was in Śāradā character and the other one in Devanāgarī[20] ; (iii) Samayamātṛkā—one complete Bhūrja copy in Śāradā character[21] ; (iv) Vyāsāṣṭaka :

given at the end of the copy of Bhāratamañjarī referred to above[22]; (v) Suvṛttatilaka—one complete paper copy in Devanāgarī[23]; (vi) Nītikalpataru—one complete paper copy in Devanāgarī[24]; and (vii) Lokaprakāśa—two copies; one of them was a complete paper copy in Śāradā character and the other copy of the work (Prakāśa I) was a paper copy in Devanāgarī, obviously incomplete.[25] It needs to be noted here that in the course of his search for manuscripts, Dr. Būhler chanced to get some information regarding the existence of Kṣemendra's Nṛpāvalī (mentioned by Kalhaṇa) somewhere in Kashmir.[26] He hoped very much to find out the book, but ultimately the hope was not fulfilled. It may be recalled with regret that Dr. M. A. Stein's earnest efforts made subsequently to recover the book were equally rewarded with frustration.[27]

In 1877 A.D., we have some extracts published by Būhler from manuscripts of Kṣemendra's works procured by the said scholar in 1875-76[28]. Mr. H. Uhle published in 1881 in AKM the different modifications of the stories of Vetālapañcaviṁśati including the version of Kṣmendra.[29]

In 1882, Dr. P. Peterson discovered one copy of Kṣemendra's Cārucaryāśataka and another of Caturvargasaṁgraha by the same author.[30]

In the beginning of 1882, Mr. Sarat Chandra Das first traced the existence of the Sanskrit text of Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā in Tibet. In the middle of the same year, Mr. Das secured from a distinguished person of Lhasa a block-print copy of the work, with a transliteration of the Sanskrit text (in Tibetan characters), along with a Tibetan translation printed in juxtaposition.[31] Credit indeed goes to Mr. Das who thus discovered the text of the Avadānakalpalatā, which could not be traced in Kashmir or anywhere in India.[32]

In 1883, we find the authorship of Avadānakalpalatā firmly and finally assigned to our Kṣemendra.[33] The Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, a valuable work of the poet, was first discovered perhaps not later than March, 1883,[34] and the first copy of

the treatise, as Peterson acknowledges it, was obtained by Būhler.[35] Būhler informs us in January, 1884 that an examination of his (i.e., Būhler's) apograph of the manuscript of Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa has shown that it contains, besides the said book, another small treatise on Alamkāra called Aucityavicāracarcā.[36]

In 1884, Mr. J. Schōnberg published in SWAW a monograph on Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa.[37] In the said paper, Schōnberg provided a list of eight works which he found quoted or referred to in that book. These were an addition to the twelve compositions by Kṣemendra already known at the time. Schōnberg's list of the eight additional works is as follows : (i) Śaśivaṁśa, (ii) Padya-Kādambarī, (iii) Citrabhārata, (iv) Iāvaṇyavatī, (v) Kanakajānakī, (vi) Deśopadeśa, (vii) Muktāvalī, and (viii) Amṛtataraṅga.

In 1885 A.D., Peterson informs us of his getting a copy of Aucityālaṁkāra presented along with the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa in the same manuscript.[38] This work on Aucitya was found entered in the list of books lying with one Rājendrasūri, a Jain religious teacher at the time in Ahmedabad. Rājendrasūri's Aucityālaṁkāra, says Peterson, turned out to be the Aucityavicāracarcā discovered by Būhler who, too, had found it together with the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa comprised in one and the same manuscript.[39] In his analysis of the Aucityālaṁkāra, otherwise called Aucityavicāracarcā, Peterson noticed ten names of Kṣemendra's works quoted in the said book.[40] Of these, the Citrabhārata, the Lāvaṇyavatī, and the Muktāvalī are quoted in the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa also. Of the remaining seven, the Bauddhāvadānalatā is evidently the same work as Bauddhāvadānakalpalatā, or briefly, Avadānakalpalatā already assigned to Kṣemendra in Cecil Bendall's catalogue. Peterson's analysis, therefore, gives us six new names, which are as follows : (i) Avasarasāra, (ii) Nītilatā, (iii) Munimatamīmāṁsā, (iv) Lalitaratnamālā, (v) Vinayavallī, and (vi) Vātsyāyanaśustrasāra. In the year under reference (i.e., 1885 A.D.), we also find mention of another name, i.e., Darpadalana, in the account of Kṣemendra's works given by Prof. Sylvain Le'vi.[41]

As the scholar himself informs us, this work had been indicated to him by Būhler.[42]

In 1885, Le'vi published the complete text in Roman script[43] of the first *lambaka* of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī on the basis of three manuscripts.[44] A French translation[45] of the said text was also given by Le'vi with the professed aim to facilitate researches.

It was in the year 1886 that scholars came across two new names, Sevyasevakopadeśa and Pavanapañcāśikā, noted by Peterson in his account of Kṣemendra in the Introduction to his edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī. It may be mentioned in this connection that the name of Pavanapañcāśikā occurs, though once only, in Kṣemendra's Suvṛttatilaka,[46] a complete copy of which was acquired long ago by Būhler in the year 1875-76[47] ; but, yet, the said work (i.e., Pavanapañcāśikā) found no mention in the lists given subsequently, in 1885 A.D., by Le'vi[48] and Peterson.[49] This might be due to the probable reason that scholars could not till then have access to the text of the Suvṛttatilaka.

It was evidently after 1886 A.D. that the name of Dānapārijāta as a work by Kṣemendra came to the knowledge of the academic world. This new name which is not traceable in the relevant records of the pioneer scholars in the field, viz., Būhler, Peterson and Le'vi, was noticed originally by Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra[50] and, on Dr. Mitra's authority, by Dr. Theodor Aufrecht thereafter.[51]

The period from 1886 to 1903 A.D. witnessed a wide publicity of as many as thirteen works of Kṣemendra published from the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay. The works are : (i) Kalāvilāsa,[52] (ii) Aucityavicāracarcā,[53] (iii) Suvṛttatilaka,[54] (iv) Sevyasevakopadeśa,[55] (v) Cārucaryā,[56] (vi) Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa,[57] (vii) Caturvargasaṁgraha,[58] (viii) Samayamātṛkā,[59] (ix) Darpadalana,[60] (x) Daśāvatāracarita,[61] (xi) Bhāratamañjarī[62] including the Vyāsāṣṭaka, (xii) Bṛhatkathāmañjarī,[63] and (xiii) Rāmāyaṇamañjarī.[64] Some of the abovenamed works,

evidently on bona fide demand from academic quarters, underwent even further editions in subsequent years. Thus, for example, the second edition of the Samayamātṛkā was published in 1925, that of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī in 1931 and of the Caturvargasaṁgraha in 1937 A.D. In 1899 we have the second edition and in 1937 the third edition of the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇā. Editions were also published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series in 1933 of Aucityavicāracarcā, Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa and Suvṛttatilaka.

Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā, together with its Tibetan version, was originally published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in twentyfour fascicles (two volumes) from 1888 to 1918 A.D. under joint editorship. Mr. Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., who, as already noticed above, had recovered this lost gem of India, the Avadānakalpalatā, in 1882 A.D., was one of the editors. It may be noted that the second fascicle of the first volume of the above edition was sold out perhaps before 1924, and the same was reprinted in 1940.[65] In 1959 we are presented with a new publication of the entire work (Sanskrit text only) in two volumes[66] under the editorship of Dr. P. L. Vaidya. The volumes were published by The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga (Bihar).

Another notable work of Kṣemendra, the hitherto unknown Narmamālā, conjointly with his Deśopadeśa known only by name and a quotation in Kavikaṇthābharaṇa[67] since 1884[68] reappeared in the year 1923 A.D. under the editorship of Pt. Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī. Pt. Kaul had procured in 1921 A.D. from a library in Kashmir a manuscript containing the said two works.[69] The above edition was published by the Research Department, Srinagar as the fortieth volume of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies.

In 1947, the full text of Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa was published by the Research Department, Srinagar as the seventy-fifth volume of the Kashmir Series, under the editorship of Pt. Jagaddhar Zadoo Shāstrī. The text was reconstructed by

Pt. Zadoo on the basis of two manuscripts. One of these manuscripts was locally available at Kashmir from one Pt. Sahaja Bhaṭṭa, formerly of the Research Department, Srinagar; and the other manuscript was borrowed from the Deccan College Library, Poona.[70] The earliest known presentation of the abovenamed work had been in the form of excerpts published by Prof. A. Weber in Indische Studien[71] and, in a way, through the medium of some notes and comments, etc., on different topics of and about the book, provided by Bühler in his Kashmir Report[72] and by Stein in his Rājataraṅgiṇī.[73] Pt. Zadoo's publication as above has indeed opened an opportunity for scholars to conduct freely and confidently a critical study of this important work in its entirety and exactitude.

The year 1956 A.D. saw the publication of Kṣemendra's Nītikalpataru critically edited for the first time by Dr. V. P. Mahājan on the basis of the only known manuscript, namely, that procured by Bühler in 1876 in Kashmir. This edition was published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona as the first volume of the Post-Graduate and Research Department Series.

In 1961 A.D., there came out a collection, edited jointly by Dr. Āryendra Sharmā and two other scholars, of as many as eleven smaller works of Kṣemendra.[74] The collection also contains some of Kṣemendra's famous verses[75] in praise of Vyāsa, Vālmīki and the incarnations of Viṣṇu, as well as the autobiographical accounts[76] culled from the poet's bigger works available to us, viz., Daśāvatāracarita, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Bhāratamañjarī and Rāmāyaṇamañjarī. The said collection, which is entitled 'Minor Works of Kṣemendra—Kṣemendra-Laghu-Kāvya-Saṅgrahaḥ', was published by the Osmania University, Hyderabad as the seventh volume of the Sanskrit Academy Series.

With the recovery, which is admittedly not yet complete, of Kṣemendra's works as reviewed above, the poet's reinstallation in the academic sphere came about as a natural corollary. In this connection we can hardly afford to miss the fact that

some of the smaller works of Kṣemendra obviously succeeded in winning the interest of scholars at home and abroad. Some such works were rendered into foreign languages chiefly during the period from the last decade of the nineteenth to the close of the first quarter of the twentieth century. Thus, to provide but a few examples, we have some extracts from Darpadalana edited and translated into German by B. A. Hirszbant in 1892.[77] The Samayamātṛkā was also rendered into German by J. J. Meyer in 1903.[78] The Kalāvilāsa was translated into German by R. Schmidt in 1914[79]; and the complete text of Darpadalana was done into German by the same scholar in 1915.[80] A French translation of the Samayamātṛkā is known to have been published in 1920.[81] It is reported that an English translation of the book was published in 1927.[82] Mention may here be made of the valuable treatise by Dr. Sūryakānta, entitled 'Kṣemendra Studies'. It was published in 1954 A.D.[83] A special value of the book consists in the fact that it comprises an English translation[84] of Kṣemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Aucityavicāracarcā and Suvṛttatilaka.

In view of the above account, it may perhaps be stated that scholars' endeavour during the concluding three decades of the last century and even after in recovering the works of the polyhistor Kṣemendra and in restoring the poet and the man has not been inadequately rewarded. How far Kṣemendra has emerged today from the state of a half-forgotten name into a familiar figure glowing with life and glory is now a thing to be assessed and realised by a thorough and critical survey of the great poet's contributions to Indian literature and wisdom.

FOOT-NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1] Cf. Hist. of Ind. Lit. by A. Weber, p. 213, fn. 224. Le'vi takes care to point out that Weber is inclined to identify Kṣemendra with Kṣemaṅkara, the author of one of the recensions of Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā ; he also notes that Burnell in his Cat. of Skt. Mss. at Tanjore, p. 168b, identifies Kṣemeśvara with Kṣemendra,—JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885 (Nov.-Dec.), p. 400 ; ibid, fn. As further noticed by Le'vi, Kṣemendra was named as Kṣyomendra and also as Kṣyemendra in the Mss. of Paris which Burnouf had before him—ibid., p. 398, fn.

[2] Cf. Amara, Kāṇḍa I, Kālavarga.

[3] Op. Cit., Sandhi I, Verse 10.

[4] Cf. Kṣemendra Studies, by Dr. Sūryakānta, p. 93, fn. 7.

[5] See infra, Chap. IV.

[6] The principle is : nāmaikadeśagrahaṇe nāmamātragrahaṇam ; e.g., Bhīma for Bhimasena, Bhāmā for Satyabhāmā, Di for Diḍḍā (Rāj., ed. Stein, Vol. I, Intro., p. 104), Soma for Somadeva (Kathā., ed. NSP, 1930, Intro. verses 12 and 13) ; Cf. Kirāt. I, sl. 25, and Mallinātha thereon.

[7] A king of Kashmir (A.D. 950-958) ; he is said to have borne the nickname 'Kṣema' with the name of his beloved wife Diḍḍā prefixed. Cf. Rāj. VI. 150-187, and Stein's Notes on Rāj. VI. 177.

[8] One of the favourites of the Kashmirian king Ananta of the eleventh century. Cf. Rāj. VII. 482.

[9] A Kāyastha, a small official during Uccala's rule (A.D. 1101-1111). Cf. Rāj. VIII. 264.

[10] Father of Kapila who was minister in charge of Lohara during Harṣa's rule (A.D. 1089-1101). Cf. Rāj. VII. 1299.

[11] A Dāmara lord of king Jayasiṁha's time (A.D. 1128-1149). Cf. Rāj. VIII. 2584.

[12] An official connected with the army, during Jayasiṁha's rule. Cf. Rāj. VIII. 1430.

[13] A renowned Darad general of king Jayasiṁha's time. Cf. Rāj. VIII. 2868.

[14] Cf. Rāj. VII. 73, 102.

[15] Cf. Rāj. VI. 186.

[16] Cf. Vikram. XVIII. 23, Rāj. VI. 173, and Rāj., ed. Stein, Vol. II, p. 452.

[17] A pupil of Jinabhadra Sūri (author of the Bālabodhinī, a commentary on the Kumārasambhava) of Kharatara-gaccha, and the author of a commentary on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta (Peters. III. 395, VI. 346). He wrote a commentary also on Vṛttaratnākara of Kedārabhaṭṭa. We also know of one Kṣemahaṁsagaṇi who is the author of a commentary on the Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra of Vāgbhaṭa, the son of Soma, of the 12th century (Cat. Cat. ; Krishṇa., Art. 867). Dr. De takes these two Kṣemas as identical (Cf. Aspects of Sanskrit Literature, by Dr. S. K. De, p. 202).

[18] Author of "Prabodhacandrodaya", a work on Medicine (Cat. Cat, ; Būhler's Cat., Fasc. IV, p. 228, Ms. No. 76).

[19] Author of a treatise on Sex-science, entitled "Ratinīti-mukula" (Krishṇa., Art. 1083).

[20] Author of a treatise on Music, entitled "Rāgamālā" composed in 1570 A.D. (Cat. Cat. ; Krishṇa., Art. 1027). This Kṣemakarṇa should not be confused with another person bearing the same name who happens to be the second of the five sons of Lāla, a noted astronomer of Kānyakubja (Cat. Cat. ; Peters. V, Index of Authors, p. xii).

[21] Composed in Samvat 1332 a commentary on the Bṛhat-kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu and its Chūrṇi (Peters. V, Index of Authors, p. xii ; ibid., Extracts from Mss., pp. 101-104, Ms. No. 60).

[22] Author of "Saubhāgyakalpalatā", a work classed under Tantra (Cat. Cat. ; Būhler's Cat., Fasc. IV, p. 270, Ms. No. 109).

[23] Author of "Nirṇayasāra" and "Sārasvata-prakriyā" (Cat. Cat.).

24 Composed a work on Metrics, entitled "Vṛttarāmāspada" (Krishṇa., Art. 1100).

25 He was a Jain and lived in the beginning of the 14th century. He composed a prose summary in Sanskrit with verses at the beginning of the Marathi version of the tales of "Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā" (Cat. Cat.; Peters. V, List of Mss., No. 398, p. 258; Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 371; The Chronology of India, by C. M. Duff, p. 261; Krishṇa., Art. 429). It deserves notice that in the concluding portion of the extract from the manuscript of the said work as given by Peterson (Peters. V, p. 190), we have 'Kṣemaṅkaragaṇi, and not 'Kṣemaṅkaramuni' as the name of the author (cf. "Kṣemaṅkareṇa gaṇinā varagadyapadyabandhena . . . .").

26 He was a cousin-pupil of Abhinavagupta, the great Śaiva philosopher, and a senior contemporary of the polymath, Kṣemendra with whom he was first confused by Prof. Peterson.

27 He is also named Kṣemarāja in the Catalogus Catalogorum. He composed two treatises on Medicine, entitled "Kṣemakutūhala" and "Cikitsāsārasaṁgraha" and some three other works (Cat. Cat., Peters. III, App. III, p. 399; Kielhorn's Cat., p. 212; Kashmir Report, App. I, p. xxxiv, No. 525).

28 He is quoted in the Subhāṣitāvalī where the poet's name appears as Bhadanta Kṣemavṛddhi (See under 'Varṣāḥ', Quotation No. 1730).

29 Son of Raghunanda of Iṣṭikāpura and author of "Tattvasamāsavyākhyā" and "Nyāyaratnākara" (Cat. Cat.).

30 Author of "Kāmaśāstra" (Cat. Cat., Peters. II, 110).

31 A younger contemporary of Rājaśekhara, and a court-poet of king Mahīpāladeva (9-10th cent. A.D.) of Kanouj. He composed two dramas, "Caṇḍakauśika" and "Naiṣadhānanda" (Cat. Cat.; Peters. III, p. 340; Krishṇa., Art. 669). He is called Kṣemendra too (Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 279, fn. 3).

32 Cf. Geschichte des Buddhismus (tr. into German by A.

Schiefner), p. 281 (See Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 89, fn. 3).

[33] Op. Cit., Fasc. IV, p. 170, No. 320.

[34] Cf. Būhler's Report; Kielhorn's List; Deccan Cat., 1888, VII. 38, X. 366.

[35] Cf. Deccan Cat., 1884; Deccan Cat., 1888, xix. i. 288.

[36] Cf. Peters. I; Bhau Daji Collection.

[37] Op. Cit., p. 11.

[38] Op. Cit., p. 28.

[39] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 26.

[40] Cf. Krishṇa., p. 171, fn. 1.

[41] Būhler's Cat. Fasc. III, p. 30, Ms. No. 159.

[42] Peters. V, Index of Authors, p. xiii.

[43] Cf. Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, by Dr. Belvalkar, pp. 95-98.

[44] Op. Cit., p. 959.

[45] Minor Works, Intro., p. 4.

[46] IA, Vol. I, p. 307, fn.

[47] Op. Cit., p. 79 & p. 81 fn.

[48] Cf. Spandasandoha : Colophon (at the end of the book) — Kṛtirmahāmāheśvarācāryavaryaśrīmad-Abhinavaguptapādapadmopajīvino rājānaka-Kṣemarājasya.
Spandanirṇaya : Colophon (Spanda I)—iti śrīmahāmāheśvarācārya-Kṣemarājānakanirmite spandanirṇaye .....
Colophon (Spanda II)—iti śrīmahāmāheśvarācārya-Kṣemarājānakanirmite Spandanirṇaye .....
Colophon (Spanda IV)—kṛtiḥ śrī-Pratyabhijñākārapraśiṣyasya mahāmāheśvarācārya-śrīmad-Abhinavaguptanāthādāttopadeśasya śrī-Kṣemarājasyeti śivam.

[49] Op. Cit., p. 77. The verse is as follows : "Śūranāmnaḥ svaśiṣyasya prārthanātirasena tat / Nirṇītaṁ Kṣemarājena sphārānnijagurorguroḥ / /"

[50] Cf. Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇdey, p. 147.

[51] Cf. "tathā mayā vitatya spandasandohe nirṇītam"-Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam, Sūtra 10 (p. 24).
"yathā caitat tathā asmadīyāt Spandanirṇayād avaboddhavyam"-Śivasūtravimarśinī, Sūtra 3 (p. 14).

"etat Spandanirṇaye nirākāṅkṣaṁ mayaiva nirṇītam"—Ibid., Sūtra 38 (p. 129).

52 Op. Cit., p. 11.

53 Ibid., p. 11, fn.

54 Ibid., p. 11.

55 IA, Vol. XIII, p. 29.

56 Ibid., p. 29, fn.: "We know of some forty works by Kṣemendra. Kṣemarāja, according to Aufrecht, is the author of as many as seventeen books. Making Kṣemendra and Kṣemarāja identical means to assign the authorship of about three score works to one single individual, which is hardly credible".

57 Ibid., p. 29.

58 Peters. IV, p. xxiii.

59 Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. De, 1st ed., Vol. I, pp. 140-41.

60 Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, pp. 153-56.

61 Kṣemendra Studies, by Dr. Sūryakānta, pp. 15-16.

62 See infra, Chap. III.

63 Cf. Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, p. 154.

64 See infra, Chap. III.

65 Cf. Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, p. 144.

66 See infra, Chap. IV.

67 Cf. Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, pp. 144-45.

68 Ibid., p. 4.

69 Cf. "Śaṁkaropaniṣatsāra-Pratyabhijñāmahodadheḥ / Kṣemeṇoddhriyate sāraḥ saṁsāra-viṣa-śāntaye" / /—Introductory Verse No. 2, Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam.

70 In the colophon to Spanda IV of Spandanirṇaya, Kṣemarāja is described as 'praśiṣya' of 'Pratyabhijñākara' and as one to whom instructions were imparted by his master ('nātha'), Abhinavagupta. In the fourth concluding verse of Spandanirṇaya, by the word 'nijaguroḥ', Kṣemarāja obviously intends to mean his guru, Abhinava. In the third concluding verse of Spandasandoha, he describes Abhinava as his 'guru' and 'prabhu'. In his Svacchandoddyota (Cf. Kashmir Report, App. II, p. clxix) as also in the colophon to his Stava-cintāmaṇi (Cf. Kashmir

Report, App. II, p. clxv, extract), Kṣemarāja is described as Abhinavagupta's 'śiṣya'.

71 Cf. Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, p. 5.

72 Ibid., p. 145.

73 Ibid., p. 4.

74 Ibid., p. 3.

75 Krishṇa., Art. 836 (p. 747), fn. 6.

76 "Kṛtiḥ....Śrī-Kṣemarājasyeti Śivam".—Colophon to Spanda IV, Spandanirṇaya. "Śūra-nāmnaḥ....Kṣemarājena".—4th concluding verse, Spandanirṇaya. "Iti Śrīmanmahā- ....Śrī-Kṣemarāja-viracitāyām...."—Colophon to each of the three Unmeṣas, Śivasūtravimarśinī. "Kṛtistatra- ....Kṣemarājasya"—Colophon, Stavacintāmaṇivivṛti.

77 "Śaṁkaropaniṣat- ....Kṣemeṇoddhriyate Sāraḥ...."—Intro. verse No. 2, Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam. "Kṣemeṇārthijanārthitena vivṛtaṁ Śrī-Spandasūtraṁ manāk".—4th foot of concluding verse No. 3, Spandasandoha.

78 "Iti Śrīmahā- ....Kṣema-Rājānakanirmite Spandanirṇaye ...."—Colophons to Spandas I and II, Spandanirṇaya.

79 "Kṛtistatrabhavan- ....Śrīmato Rājānaka-Kṣemarājācāryasya"—Colophon (at the end of the book), Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam. "Kṛtirmahā- ....pādapadmopajīvino Rājānaka-Kṣemarājasya"—Colophon (at the end of the book), Spandasandoha. "Iti....Rājānaka-Kṣemarāja-madhupa-rājenetyom"—Colophon, Sāmbapañcāśikāvivaraṇam. "Iti Śrī-Rājānaka-Kṣemarāja-viracite...." — Colophon, Svacchandoddyota.

80 See infra, Chap. V.

81 Op. Cit., pp. 75-76.

82 See infra, Chap. VIII.

83 Expressions like 'Abhinavaguptapādapadmopajīvin', 'Abhinavaguptapādapadmamadhuparāja' etc., so frequently used by Kṣemarāja with reference to himself, and those like 'Vidyāvdhiśītadyuti', 'Abhinavabodhādityadyuti....', etc. used by him with reference to Abhinavagupta are conclu-

sively indicative of his supreme reverence for him (Abhinava).

[84] Aucityavicāracarcā, Upasaṁhāra, verse 3.

[85] Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Upasaṁhāra, verse 37 ; the same verse with the halves transposed occurs in Mahābhārata-mañjarī (concluding verse 8).

[86] Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, p. 145.

[87] Avadānakalpalatā, Somendra's Intro.

[88] Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, pp. 11-12.

[89] Peters. I, p. 11.

[90] Op. Cit., p. 224.

CHAPTER TWO

[1] Cf. IA, Vol. I, p. 304. The colophon of the Ms. runs as follows : "iti Vyāsadāsaparākhya-Kṣemendra-viracitā Bṛhatkathā sampūrṇā. . . ."

[2] Op. Cit., p. 46.

[3] Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., App. I, p. X, Ms. No. 154.

[6] Notices of Skt. Mss., by Rājendralāl Mitra, Vol. I, pp. 44, Ms. No. LXXX.

[7] The colophon reads as follows : "ityācārya-śrī-Vyāsadāsā-paranāmadheya-Kṣemendrakṛte Kalāvilāsakāvye daśamaḥ sargaḥ".

[8] Op. Cit., p. 75.

[9] Op. Cit., Vol. I, p. 141.

[10] Ibid., 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 131.

[11] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885 (Nov-Dec), pp. 402-03.

[12] Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 265 ; Sāhitya-Darpaṇa, ed. Dr. Kane, Intro., p. xcix.

13. *Tabular Account* :

Name of Book.	*No. of colophons.*	*No. of colophons having no mention of the poet's name.*	*No. of colophons where 'Vyāsadāsa' occurs along with 'Kṣemendra'.*
1. Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (Kāvyamālā)	22	Nil	1
2. Mahābhāratamañjarī (Kāvyamālā)	20	1	1
3. Rāmāyaṇamañjarī (Kāvyamālā)	6	Nil	Nil
4. Lokaprakāśa (Kashmir Series)	4	Nil	Nil
5. Deśopadeśa (Kashmir Series)	9	8 (Nil acc. to Skt. Acade. Series)	Nil (8 acc. to Skt. Acad. Series)
6. Narmamālā (Kashmir Series)	4 (3 acc. to Skt. Acad. Series)	3 (Nil acc. to Do)	1 (3 acc. to Do.)
7. Samayamātṛkā (Kāvyamālā)	9	Nil	3
8. Caturvargasaṁgraha (Kāvyamālā)	4	4	Nil
9. Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa (Kāvyamālā)	5	Nil	5
10. Suvṛttatilaka (Kāvyamālā)	3	Nil	3
11. Cārucaryā (Kāvyamālā)	1	Nil	1
12. Kalāvilāsa (Kāvyamālā)	10	Nil	Nil

13. Tabular Account—Contd.

Name of Book.	*No. of colophons.*	*No. of colophons having no mention of the poet's name.*	*No. of colophons where 'Vyāsadāsa' occurs along with 'Kṣemendra'.*
13. Sevyasevakopadeśa (Kāvyamālā)	1	Nil	1
14. Darpadalana (Kāvyamālā)	7	Nil	7
15. Aucityavicāracarcā (Kāvyamālā)	1	Nil	1
16. Daśāvatāracarita (Kāvyamālā)	10	Nil	10
17. Avadānakalpalatā (Bib. Ind. & Mithila Inst.).	108	Nil	Nil
18. Nītikalpataru (BORI)	144	144	Nil
Total (for 1 to 18)	368 or, 367	160 or, 149	34 or, 44

[14] In the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, the colophons of all the eighteen lambakas, as well as of the first two gucchas of the first and the first guccha of the second lambaka, have the poet's name mentioned as 'Kṣemendra' with 'Śrī' prefixed in some places. But, in the last colophon the name 'Vyāsadāsa' is given along with the poet's original name. In the Mahābhāratamañjarī, we have the author's name given as 'Kṣemendra' in the colophons of the parvans, Ādi, Virāṭa, Droṇa, Karṇa. Śalya, Gadā, Sauptika, and Strī and the Harivaṁśa. The same name occurs, with only 'Śrī' prefixed to it, in the colophons of the parvans, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Āśvamedhika, Āśrama-

vāsika, Mausala, Mahāprāsthānika and Svarga. The colophon of the Āraṇya parvan has the title 'Mahākavi' prefixed to the name 'Kṣemendra'. The colophon of the Śāntiparvan has no name whatever of its author. In the colophon of the Sabhāparvan, we find the name 'Kṣemendra' coupled with the word 'Vyāsarūpa' preceding it. In the Rāmāyaṇamañjari, the colophons of the kāṇḍas, Ayodhyā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara, mention the author's name simply as 'Kṣemendra'; in the colophons of the Āraṇya and Kiṣkindhyā kāṇḍas the same name occurs with 'Śrī' prefixed to it; and the Bālakāṇḍa has no colophon at all. The Samayamātṛkā gives the name 'Vyāsadāsa' along with 'Kṣemendra' in the colophons of the first three Samayas; and the colophons of the remaining five Samayas as also the last colophon following the concluding verses record the name of the poet as 'Kṣemendra' only, with 'Śrī' prefixed to it.

[15] Cf. (i) Deśopadeśa, ed. Kaul : Colophons of Upadeśas, I to VIII—No mention of the author.
Last Colophon—"Kṛtiḥ Kṣemendrasyeti Śam".
(ii) Deśopadeśa, ed. Skt. Acad. Series : Colophons of Upadeśas, I to VIII—"Iti Śrī-Vyāsadāsāparākhya-Kṣemendra-viracite Deśopadeśe....".
Last Colophon—"Kṛtiḥ Kṣemendrasyeti Śam".
(iii) Narmamālā, ed. Kaul :
Colophons of Parihāsas, I to III—No mention of the author.
Last Colophon—"Kṛtir-Vyāsadāsāparanāmnaḥ Kṣemendrasyeti Śivam".
(iv) Narmamālā, ed. Skt. Acad. Series :
Colophons of Parihāsas, I to III—"Iti Śrī-Vyāsadāsāparākhya-Kṣemendra-Viracitāyāṁ Narmamālāyām....".

[16] Cf. Mahābhāratamañjarī, Āraṇya and Sabhā—Colophons.

[17] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., p. vii.

[18] Ibid.

[19] "Śravyā Śrī-Vyāsadāsena Samāsena Satāṁ Mataḥ /Kṣemendreṇa Vicāryeyaṁ Cārucaryā Prakāśitā / /"

[20] "Tasyātmajaḥ Sarvamanīṣiśiṣyaḥ Śrī-Vyāsadāsāparapuṇya-nāmā Kṣemendra.... / /"

[21] "Avatāra- .... / Śrī-Vyāsadāsaḥ Kṣemendraḥ kurute sara-sāṁ stutim / /"

[22] "Natvomātanayāṁ Gaurīṁ Vyāsamukhyamunīśvarān / Śrī-Vyāsadāsaḥ Kṣemendro Nītikalpataruṁ Vyadhāt / /"

[23] "Ityeṣa .... / Śrī-Vyāsadāsānyatamābhidhena Kṣemendra-nāmā (-bhidhānaKṣemendra-) vihitaḥ stavāgryaḥ / /"

[24] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., pp. vi-xi.

[25] Dr. Kane says: "He calls himself Vyāsadāsa...." Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 265; Sāhitya Darpaṇa, ed. Dr. Kane, Intro., p. xcix.

[26] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 403.

[27] Śaṅkaravijayaḥ, by Ānandagiri, Bid. Ind., Prakaraṇa IX, pp. 70-77.

[28] Religion of the Hindus, by H. H. Wilson, Vol. I, p. 16.

[29] Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, KM ed., Upasaṁhāra, verse No. 38.

[30] Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 258.

[31] Ibid., p. 49, fn. 1.

[32] Ibid.; Krishṇa., Arts. 319, 521, 523, 787 and 938.

[33] Krishṇa., Art. 938.

[34] Manoramā, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 54.

[35] Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 274, fn. 3.

[36] 'Navīna-Kālidāsa', 'Abhinava-Jayadeva', 'Abhinava-Drami-ḍācārya', 'Śrutinagaranetā', 'Abhinava-Bhoja', 'Abhinava-Śaṅkarācārya', etc.—See New Cat., pp. 223, 227-229.

[37] Lokaprakāśa, Chap. I, Intro. verse No. 3.

[38] IA, Vol. I, p. 307 fn.

[39] Kashmir Report, p. 45.

[40] Kṣemendra Studies, pp. 27-28.

[41] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 23.

[42] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., p. V.

[43] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 27.

[44] Suvṛttatilaka; Subhāṣitāvalī, ed. Peterson.

[45] KM, gucchaka XIII, Bhikṣāṭanakāvyam-editorial note.

[46] KM, gucchaka IX, Sundarīśatakam-editorial note.

[47] Avadānakalpalatā, Somendra's Intro. to the 108th Pallava.

[48] Cf. Aucityavicāracarcā, Upasaṁhāra, verse No. 3.

[49] Cf. Vyāsāṣṭaka ; Bhāratamañjarī : Droṇaparvan, verse No. 790, intro. verse of each of the parvans, and so on.

[50] Hist. of Skt. Lit., by A. A. Macdonell, p. 376.

[51] The Chronology of India, by C. M. Duff, p. 118.

[52] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., p. i. considers the word to be a surname of Kṣemendra (See

[53] In his entry under 'Vyāsadāsa', however, Dr. Aufrecht considers the word to be a surname of Kṣemendra (See Cat. Cat.).

[54] Op. Cit., p. xi.

[55] Peters. I, p. 33 ; Subh., ed. Peterson, p. 125.

Chapter Three

[1] Cf. "It is a fortunate circumstance that several of the older Kashmir poets, whose works have been preserved for us, have had the good sense to let us know something about their own persons and homes."—Rāj., ed. Stein, Vol. II, p. 374. See also Rāj. I. 15, Stein's Note.

[2] Cf. Abhinava's Tantrāloka, Mālinī-Vijaya-Vārttika, Parā-triṁśikā-Vivaraṇa, etc.
Dr. Pāṇḍey observes : "Abhinava, it appears, knew the importance of biographical information about a writer in understanding his works. He has, therefore, not remained silent about himself."—Abhinavagupta, p. 1.

[3] Kashmir Report, p. 46.

[4] ZDMG, Band 27, Leipzig, 1873—"Über die Paddhati von Cārṅgadhara", by Weber, p. 19 ; JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885 (Nov.-Dec.)—"La Bṛhatkathāmañjarī De Kshemendra", by M. Sylvain Le'vi.

[5] Kashmir Report, p. 45.

[6] IA, Vol. I.

[7] Ibid., p. 307.

8 Cf. Būhler's letter published in Ind. Stud., XIV, p. 407; —Weber in his Hist. of Ind. Lit. (p. 213, fn. 224) has referred to this and recorded Būhler's view on the age of Kṣemendra; Kashmir Report, p. 46.

9 JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 400.

10 Subh., ed. Peterson, Intro.

11 Here Mr. Das refers to Būhler, Le'vi and 'other eminent writers.'

12 Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das and H. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1888, Vol. I, Prefatory Note, pp. vi-vii.

13 See Macdonell, Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 289; Keith, Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 135; Keith, Cl. Skt. Lit. (4th ed.), p. 54; Winternitz, Hist. of Ind. Lit., Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 55; Krishṇamāchāriār, Hist. of Cl. Skt. Lit., p. 171; Dasgupta and De, Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 554; T. Aufrecht, Cat. Cat.; E. Krishnamāchārya, Sūktimuktāvalī, Intro. p. 30; Pt. J. D. Zadoo Shāstrī, Lokaprakāśa, Foreword, p. 2; etc.

14 Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 20.

15 Kṣemendra Studies, p. 7.

16 Ibid., p. 8.

17 Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Vaidya, Vol. I, Intro., p. VIII.

18 Ibid.

19 Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., p. iii.

20 Minor Works, Intro., p. 1.

21 Op. Cit., Upasaṁhāra, v. 37.

22 Op. Cit., Upasaṁhāra, v. 8.

23 Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., pp. 20-21.

24 Kṣemendra Studies, p. 7.

25 His edition of Nītikalpataru, Intro., p. ii.

26 Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, p. 123.

27 Ibid., p. 7.

28 Kṣemendra Studies, p. 8.

29 Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 24.

30 Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 243.

[31] Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, p. 37.
[32] Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 243.
[33] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 7.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., p. iii.
[36] Ind. Stud., XIV, p. 407. See also Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit., p. 213, fn. 224.
[37] Kashmir Report, p. 46.
[38] Subh., ed. Peterson, Intro.
[39] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 8.
[40] Minor Works, Intro., p. 1.
[41] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 7.
[42] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 23.
[43] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 400.
[44] Sāhitya-Darpaṇa, ed. Dr. Kane, Intro., p. xcix ; Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 266.
[45] Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 243.
[46] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., pp. ii-iii.
[47] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, p. 23.
[48] Kṣemendranāmā tanayastasya
Vidvatsu viśrutaḥ /
Prayātaḥ Kavigoṣṭhīṣu
nāmagrahaṇayogyatām / /
v. 36.
[49] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 28.
[50] Kṣemendranāmā tanayastasya
Vidvatsaparyayā /
Prayātaḥ kavigoṣṭhīṣu
nāmagrahaṇayogyatām / /
v. 7.
[51] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 400.
[52] Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Dr. Vaidya, Intro.
[53] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 25.
[54] Op. Cit., I. 2.
[55] Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (ed. KM, No. 69, 2nd ed., 1931), Lambaka IX, Guccha I, Verses 619-623 (pp. 265-266).

[56] It is to be noticed that in quoting the verses, we have for the sake of cogency of meaning or correctness of construction made the following changes in respect of a few words noted below.

Verse No.	*Form available in the KM ed.*	*Form given here*
621	kāntikandalitormiṣu	kāntikollolitormiṣu
621	sudhā....sukhaṁ	sudhā....mukhaṁ
622	daṣṭeva (alt. reading, tiṣṭhanti)	Tvaṣṭreva
622	nirmita	nirmitaḥ
623	sūkta...mekhalaḥ	sūktārpitā.... mekhalā

[57] Cf. Vikram., I. 21, XVIII. 1-32 ; Rāj., I. 26-43.

[58] Under 'Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa'.

[59] Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, p. 155.

[60] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, p. 21.

[61] Cf. Rāj., ed. Stein, V. 46, Note ; Ibid., Vol. II, p. 455.

Chapter Four

[1] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 401.

[2] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 9.

[3] This is according to the reading accepted by S. C. Das and P. L. Vaidya ;—see their editions of the Avadānakalpalatā.

[4] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 9.

[5] Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Dr. Vaidya, Vol. I, Intro., p. IX.

[6] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 21.

[7] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., p. iii.

[8] Avadānakalpalatā : Somendra's Intro., V. 1. The verse is as follows :

Narendranāmnaḥ sumateḥ Śrī-Jayāpiḍamantriṇaḥ /
Vaṁśe babhūva Bhogīndro bhogīndra iva bhogavān //

[9] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 9.

[10] Avadānakalpalatā, Somendra's Intro., V. 2.
The verse reads as follows :—
Tasya sattvanidheḥ (sattvanidhiḥ—according to Hodgson Ms.) śrīmān guṇaratnagaṇāśrayaḥ /
Sūnurvāṇīsudhāsūtiḥ Sindhuḥ sindhur ivā-bhavat / /

[11] Op. Cit., Concluding verse no. 3 : Kaśmīreṣvabhavat Sindhujanmā candra ivāparaḥ Prakāśendraḥ......

[12] Op. Cit., Concluding verse no. 2.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., p. iii.

[15] Kashmir Report, p. 46.

[16] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 401.

[17] Deśopadeśa and Namamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 21.

[18] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 9.

[19] Viśvakoṣa.

[20] Abhinavagupta, by Dr. Pāṇḍey, p. 156.

[21] Minor Works, Intro., p. 3.

[22] It is to be noted that in the Kāvyamālā edition of the Daśāvatāracarita we have the name 'Sinduḥ' and not 'Sindhuḥ' as quoted by Dr. Pāṇḍey.

[23] Daśāvatāracarita, concluding verse no. 2.

[24] Kashmir Report, App. II, p. lxii.

[25] JA, S. VIII, T.VI, p. 401.

[26] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 9.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Deśāvatāracarita, concluding verse no. 2.

[30] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 9.

[31] Op. Cit., Concluding verse no. 31.

[32] Op. Cit., Concluding verse no. 1.

[33] Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding verse no. 2.

[34] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 21.

[35] Kaśmīreṣvabhavat Sindhujanmā
candra ivāparaḥ /
Prakāśendraḥ sthirā yasya
pṛthivyāṁ kīrtikaumudī / /

—Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, concluding verse no. 3.
(See Minor Works, p. 422, where the verse occurs under

Ātmavṛttam (4), bearing serial no. 1). In the Kāvyamālā edition of the book, the verse contains a variant, viz., 'pṛthvyasya' for 'pṛthivyām'; the form, 'pṛthvyasya' is obviously made up of the component words, 'pṛthvī' and 'asya'; of these, the word, 'pṛthvī' may be explained as an adjective to 'kīrtikaumudī', but the element 'asya' does not appear to serve any purpose whatever and is evidently redundant and meaningless in the text under reference.

36 Sadā dānārdrahastena mahata bhadramūrtinā /
Sādhu kuñjaritā yena prāptā kīrtipatākinā / /
—Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, ed. KM, concluding verse no. 4.
There is a variant, viz., 'dayā' for 'dāna' in the above verse (Cf. Minor Works, p. 422). Here, in consideration of rhetorical beauty, 'dāna' is decidedly better than 'dayā'.

37 Nānārthijanasaṁkalpapūraṇe
Kalpapādapaḥ.
—Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding verse no. 1,
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, concluding verse no. 31.

38 Yasya Meror ivodāraḥ kalyāṇapūrṇasaṁpadaḥ
—Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding verse no. 3.
Yasya Meror ivodārakalyāṇapūrṇasaṁpadaḥ
—Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, concluding verse no. 32.

39 . . . .
Prāptastasya guṇaprakarṣavaśasā
putraḥ Prakāśendratām /
Viprendrapratipāditānnadhanabhūgosaṅghakṛṣṇājinaiḥ
Prakhyātātiśayasya tasya tanayaḥ
Kṣemendranāmābhavat / /
—Daśāvatāracarita, concluding verse no. 2.

40 Āsīt Prakāśendra iti prakāśaḥ Kāśmīradeśe
Tridaśeśvaraśrīḥ
—Aucityavicāracarcā, concluding verse no. 1;
Saṁpūrṇadānasaṁtuṣṭaḥ prāhustaṁ
Brāhmaṇāḥ sadā /
Indra evāsi kiṁtvekaḥ prakāśaste
guṇo'dhikaḥ / /
Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding verse no. 2.

[41] Tasya putraḥ Prakāśendraḥ Prakāśendranibho bhuvi /
Babhūva dānapuṇyena Bodhisattvaguṇocitaḥ / /
—Avadānakalpalatā, Somendra's Intro., v. 3.

[42] Viprendrapratipāditānnadhanabhūgosaṅgha-kṛṣṇājinaiḥ—Daśāvatāracarita, concluding verse no. 2.
Gobhūmikṛṣṇājinaveśmadātā—Aucityavicāracarcā, concluding verse no. 2.
Avāritamabhūdgehe bhojyasatraṁ dvijanmanām
—Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding verse no. 3.
Agaṇeyamabhūdgehe Yasya bhojyaṁ dvijanmanām
—Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, concluding verse no. 32.
Abhūd gṛhe yasya pavitrasatramacchinnamagrā
-sanamagrajānām—Aucityavicāracarcā, concluding verse no. 1.

[43] Sūryagrahe tribhirlakṣairdattvā kṛṣṇājinatrayam /
Alpaprado'smītyabhavatkṣaṇaṁ lajjānatānanaḥ / /
(Alpa....abhavatsa lajjānatakaṁdharaḥ)
—Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding verse no. 4;
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, concluding verse no. 33.

[44] Cf. "Iti Śrī-Prakāśendra-paṇdita-suta-ŚrīKṣemendra-viracitaucityālaṁkāroddhāraḥ...." (being the colophon in a manuscript of the work called Aucityālaṁkāroddhāra in the BORI collection no. 578/1887-91). See Nītikalpataru, ed. Mahājan, Intro. p. ii, fn. 2.

[45] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 21.

[46] Svayambhū-Śambhu-Vijaye yaḥ Pratiṣṭhāpya devatāḥ /
Dattvā Koṭicaturbhāgaṁ devadvijamaṭhādiṣu / /
—Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding verse no. 5.
Svayambhū-nilaye Śrīmān yaḥ pratiṣṭhāpya devatāḥ /
Dattvā Koṭicaturbhāgaṁ devadvijamaṭhādiṣu / /
—Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, concluding verse no. 34.

Dr. Bühler says : "The latter (i.e. Prakāśendra) was a great patron of Brāhmanas and expended three kotis or thirty millions (of what is not stated) in various benefactions." (Kashmir Report, p. 46). Prof. Le'vi observes that Prakāśendra dispensed with as much as 4 kotis (40 millions) in pious works, e.g., creation of statues,

donations to the monasteries, etc. (JA S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 401). According to Dr. Krishṇamāchāriār, again, "his (i.e. Kṣemendra's) father was a great patron of Brahmins and expended three crores in various benefactions." (Hist. of Cl. Skt. Lit., by Dr. M. Krishṇamāchāriār, Art. 68, pp. 170-171). In the words of Dr. Sūryakānta, "Prakāśendra spent three crores (of what, is not mentioned) on the gods, Brāhmaṇas, and 'maṭhas'". (Kṣemendra Studies, p. 11.). Also, in the Introduction (p. 2) of Minor Works of Kṣemendra (ed. by Dr. A, Sharmā and others), it is stated: "he (i.e. Prakāśendra) is said to have spent three crores on Devas, Bhūdevas and maṭhas." The above statements are evidently based on the verses quoted above. It may be noticed that the amount of money, 3 crore or 4 crore, as given in these statements, is not corroborated by the relevant sources just at our disposal. It seems strange how the expression 'koṭicaturbhāga' occurring in each of the above-quoted verses may be taken to mean '3 crore' or '4 crore' instead of 'a quarter of a crore, i.e., 25 lac' which is obviously the only plain and legitimate meaning of the word in question, and which is rightly given by Pt. Kaul (see his edition of Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, Intro., p. 21) and is accepted by the present writer also.

47 Cf. Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding verse no. 6;
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, concluding verse no. 35;
Aucityavicāracarcā, concluding verse no. 2.

48 Somendranāmā Tanayo'tha Tasya
Kavir Niruddhāparanāmadheyaḥ
—Intro. to the 108th Pallava of Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 4 (first half).

49 Asmin Jinodārakathāprabandhe
Sampūrayiṣyatyavadānaśeṣam.
—Intro. to the 108th Pallava of Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 4 (second half).
Bhṛṅgāṅganāmiva pituḥ praṇipatya vāṇīṁ
Saṁpūrayāmi pṛthukāvyaviśeṣaśeṣam.
—Ibid., verse no. 15 (second half).

Asmatpitravadānānāṁ kṛte saptottare śate /
Somendreṇa mayāpyekaṁ kṛtaṁ maṅgalapūraṇam / /
—Intro. to Advadānakalpalatā, verse no. 14.

[50] Cf. Kṣemendrastanayastasya Kavīndraḥ Kīrticandrikā /
Candrasyeveditā yasya mānasollāsinī satām / /
(Intro. to Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 4).
Sūktāṁśubhirvihitasarvasukhopadeśam
(Intro. to the 108th Pallava of Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 9, 2nd foot).
Mādhuryadhuryamamṛtaṁ Śrutipātrapeya-
māmodasadmamukhapadmapade dhvanantīm /
Bhṛṅgāṅganāmiva pituḥ praṇipatya vāṇīm....../ /
(Intro. to the 108th Pallava of Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 15).

[51] Cf. "Tataḥ svapne Bhagavatā Jinena....."
(Intro. to Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 11).
Santoṣāya praśamasukināṁ nirmitoyaṁ prabandhaḥ
(Intro. to Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 17).
Jinaśāsanaśāstreṣu pariniṣṭhitamānasaḥ /
Gambhīrāgamamārge'smin......./ /
(Intro. to Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 13).
Asmin Jinodārakathāprabandhe
(Intro. to the 108th Pallava of Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 4, 3rd foot).

[52] Intro. to the 108th Pallava of Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 14.

[53] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 401.

[54] Intro. to Avadānakalpalatā, verse no. 14.

[55] Pāṇ. I. 2. 59.

[56] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 401, fn.

[57] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 10.

[58] Ibid., p. 13.

[59] Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., p. iii.

[60] Op. Cit., Intro., p. 24.

[61] Op. Cit., p. 145.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 "The author of this work, Kshemendra, sprang from the line of the ministers of Kashmir, who traced their origin to the noble race of the Sakyas". —Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das and H. M. Vidyābhūshaṇa, Vol. I, Cal., 1888, Prefatory Note, p. V.

2 Rāj. I. 101-107 ; Rāj., ed. & tr. Stein, Vol. I., Intro., pp. 74-75 ; The Dynastic History of Northern India, by Dr. H. C. Ray, p. lll ; Early History and Culture of Kashmir, by Dr. S. C. Ray, pp. 143, 161 (Note 19) ; A History of Kashmir, by P. N. K. Bamzai, pp. 64-65.

3 *Compare*: "It is stated in the Mahāvaṁsa-Ṭīkā that during the life time of the Buddha, some Śākyas being oppressed by Viḍūḍabha, fled to the Himalayas where they built a beautiful city which was known as the Moriyanagara (Mauryanagara)....The Buddhists hold that Aśoka and the Buddha were of the same family as the former was descended from Chandragupta who was born of the queen of one of the kings of Moriyanagara."—Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India, by Dr. B. C. Law, p. 199.

It must be noted here that modern scholars are generally in favour of accepting the view that "the old Moriya offers a more satisfactory explanation of Maurya, the name of the dynasty founded by Chandragupta...." (The Age of Imperial Unity, ed. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 56). In their opinion, therefore, Aśoka, grandson of Chandragupta, belonged to the Kṣatriya clan of the Moriyas. But yet the question persists as to whether the Moriyas and the Śākyas were originally two distinct tribes or whether the Moriyas were an offshoot of the Śākya race or whether they were a new tribe brought into existence by the matrimonal alliance of the Śākyas with the neighbouring hill-people inhabiting the tract of Pipphalivana where, according to the Buddhist tradition, some Śākyas, during Viḍūḍabha's devastating attack on Kapilāvastu, took refuge and ultimately settled down. In

the Buddhist tradition, as Dr. R. K. Mookerji puts it, "Chandragupta is described as a scion of the Kṣatriya clan of Moriyas, an offshoot of the noble and sacred sept of the Śākyas who gave the Buddha to the world. According to the story, these Moriyas separated from the parent community to escape from its invasion by the cruel Kosala King, Viḍūḍabha and found refuge in a secluded Himalayan region. This region was known for its peacocks, whence the immigrants also became known as Moriyas, i.e. those belonging to the place of peacocks. Moriya is from 'Mora' which is the Pali word for peacock, corresponding to the Sanskrit word 'Mayūra'. Another version of the story mentions a city called Moriyanagara after the fact that it was built with 'bricks coloured like peacocks' necks'. The people who built the city became known as Moriyas. The Mahābodhivaṁsa (ed. Strong, p. 98) states that Prince (Kumāra) Chandragupta, born of a dynasty of Kings (narindakula-sambhava), hailing from the city known as Moriyanagara, which was built by Śākyaputtas, being supported by the Brāhmaṇa (dvija), Chāṇakya, became king at Pāṭaliputra". Chandragupta Maurya And His Times, by Dr. R. K. Mookerji, p. 22. *Compare* : "Moriya—A *Khattiya* clan of India. Among those claiming a share of the Buddha's relics were the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. They came rather late and had to be satisfied with a share of the ashes. Candagutta, grandfather of Aśoka, was also a Moriyan. The Mahāvaṁsa-Ṭīkā contains an account of the origin of the name. According to one theory they were so called because they rejoiced in the prosperity of their city (*attānaṁ nagara-siriyā modāpīti, etha sañjātā ti, dakārassa rakāraṁ katvā Moriyā ti laddhavohārā*). They lived in a delightful land. Another theory connects the name with *mora* (peacock).The city which they founded had buildings of blue stone, like the neck of the peacock, and the place always resounded with the cries of peacocks. It is said that the Moriyans were originally Śākyan princes of Kapilavatthu, who escaped to the Himalaya regions

to save themselves from the attacks of Viḍūḍabha, and established a city there. Thus Aśoka was a kinsman of the Buddha, for Candagutta was the son of the chief queen of the Moriyan King. The King was killed by a neighbouring ruler and the city pillaged. Aśoka's mother, Dhammā, was also a Moriyan princess."

—— Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, by Dr. G. P. Malalasekhara, Vol. II, p. 673. Compare also : Note 15, p. 972, Ibid.

4 Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das and H. M. Vidyābhūshaṇa, Vol. I.

5 Nīlamatapurāṇa, ed. Kanjilal and Zadoo, verses 813 & 815, p. 66 ; ibid., App. A, p. 7. See also Dr. Bühler's Kashmir Report, p. 41.

6 Cf. C. H. Tawney's tr. of Kathāsaritsāgara, ed. N. M. Penzer, Vol. I, R. C. Temple's Foreword, p. XIV ; Address by Dr. V. Rāghavan, General President, A.I.O. Conf., 21st Session, 1961, p. 5.

7 Cf. Maṅgalyaṁ Brāhmaṇasya syāt
Kṣatriyasya balānvitam /
Vaiśyasya dhanasaṁyuktaṁ
Śūdrasya tu jugupsitam / /
— Manu II. 31.

Brāhmaṇādīnāṁ yathākramaṁ maṅgala-bala-dhana-nindāvācakāni śubha-bala-dhana-nindāvācakāni nāmāni kartavyāni—Kullūka on Manu II. 31.

Athavā maṅgalaṁ dharmastatsādhanaṁ
maṅgalyaṁ nāma katamat punar dharma-sādhanaṁ nāma ya ete devatāśabda—Indro'gnirvāyuḥ tathā ṛṣiśabdāḥ. . . . .
—Medhātithi on Manu II. 31.

8 See Chap. I of the present treatise.

9 Cf. Śarmavad Brāhmaṇasya syād
Rajño rakṣāsamanvitam /
Vaiśyasya puṣṭisaṁyuktaṁ
Śūdrasya praiṣyasaṁyutam / /
—Manu II. 32.

Udāharaṇāni tu Śubhaśarmā,

Balavarmā, Vasubhūtiḥ, Dīnadāsa
iti. Tathā ca Yamaḥ—
Śarmā devaśca Viprasya varmā trātā ca Bhūbhujaḥ /
Bhūtirdattaśca Vaiśyasya dāsaḥ Śūdrasya kārayet / /
Viṣṇupurāṇe'pi (3.10.9) uktam—
Śarmavad Brāhmaṇasyoktaṁ
Varmeti Kṣatrasaṁyutam /
Gupta-dāsātmakaṁ nāma
Praśastaṁ Vaiśya-Śūdrayoḥ / /
—Kullūka on Manu II. 32.

10 Medhātithi on Manu II. 31.

11 Winternitz, Hist. of Ind. Lit., Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 258; Uttara-Rāmacaritam, ed. Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa, Intro. p. 13.

12 See Karpūramañjarī, ed. M. Ghosh, Intro., p. LXIX.

13 Manu VII. 54, 58, 62. See also : Mahābhāratera Samāja, by Sukhamaya Bhaṭṭācārya, p. 396.

14 Karpūramañjarī, ed. Dr. M. Ghosh, Intro., p. LXIX.

15 Cf. Hist. of Dharma Śāstra, by Kane, Vol. III, p. 108.

16 Rāj. IV. 211, 215, 246-262, and Stein's Notes.

17 Rāj. VI. 333.

18 Rāj. VII. 106.

19 Rāj. VII. 208.

20 Rāj. VII. 894.

21 Rāj. VIII. 560.

22 Cf. Acetanacetanādhyāropaparicayo yathā macchiṣya-Śrī-Bhaṭṭodayasiṁhasya........Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa (Minor Works, p. 82).

23 Cf. Vivekaparicayo yathā macchiṣya-rājaputra-Lakṣmaṇādityasya—Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa (Minor Works, p. 83).

24 Lokaprakāśakoṣa, Kashmir Series, p. 1, v. 8.

25 Cf. the meanings of the expressions 'Bhaṭṭa-bhāgavatārthita', 'Bhaṭṭa-bhojaka-śraddhā,' 'Bhaṭṭa-vyaya', as noted in App. V of Minor Works of Kṣemendra, p. 555.

26 Cf. Vācaspatya, Monier Williams.

[27] Cf. Daśarūpaka ii. 64; Sāhitya-Darpaṇa VI. 167.

[28] Cf. Vācaspatya.

[29] Cf. Monier Williams.

[30] Op. Cit., Concluding verse no. 4.

[31] Minor Works, Intro., p. 4.

[32] See. Karpūramañjarī, ed. Dr. M. Ghosh, p. LXIX.

[33] See Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 215.

[34] See: Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 215; Karpūramañjarī, ed. Dr. M. Ghosh, p. LXIX.

In this connection we may be allowed to recall some relevant verses of the Manusaṁhitā, which read as follows:

Upanīya tu yaḥ śiṣyaṁ Vedamadhyāpayed Dvijaḥ /
Sakalpaṁ sarahasyañca tamācāryaṁ pracakṣate //
Ekadeśantu Vedasya Vedāṅgānyapi vā punaḥ /
Yo 'dhyāpayati vṛttyarthamupādhyāyaḥ sa ucyate //
Niṣekādīni karmāṇi yaḥ karoti yathāvidhi //
Sambhāvayati cānnena sa Vipro Gururucyate //
(Manu, Chap. II, verses 140-142).

It is apparent that Kṣemendra was neither an *Ācārya*, nor an *Upādhyāya*, nor a *Guru* in the strictly technical sense of the term as laid down in the text quoted above, for, apart from the question of his caste, there is no evidence to show that he ever was a teacher of the Veda or the Vedāṅgas, with or without remuneration for his subsistence, or that he used to conduct the investiture ceremony of his pupils or perform according to rules the sacramental rites, Niṣeka etc., and so on. But, in another verse of the Manusaṁhitā, there is provided a relaxation in respect of the specific import, permissible for the word, *'Guru'*. The verse is as follows:

Alpaṁ vā bahu vā yasya Śrutasyopakaroti yaḥ /
Tam apīha guruṁ vidyācchrutopakriyayā tayā //
(Manu, Chap. II, verse 149).

Following is the relevant extract from Medhātithi's commentary on the above verse :

> Ya upādhyāyo yasya māṇavakasyopakaroti Śrutasya Śrutenetyarthaḥ. Yasya Śrutasya sāmānādhikaraṇyaṁ Vedaviṣayasya Vedāṅgaviṣayasya vā Śāstrāntara-viṣayasya Tarka-Kalā-Śāstrasya yadalpaṁ bahu vā tenopakarotītyadhyāhāraḥ. . . . Guruvṛttistatra kartavyā tadvyapadeśo vā tatrācāryādiśabdavat smaryate.

From the above it appears that an *upādhyāya* or a teacher who imparts knowledge of any measure in any subject may be called and treated as a *'Guru'*. An *Upādhyāya*, again, according to Manu's definition, is not necessarily required to be a Brāhmaṇa ;—this is but obvious from the fact that, unlike in verses 140 and 142 quoted above, there is no express injunction in the relevant verse (i.e., v. 141) regarding the teacher's caste, and further that the word 'Dvijaḥ' (taken by Kullūka to mean a Brāhmaṇa) occurring in verse 140 cannot possibly claim continuity in verse 141, for, otherwise, the continuity of the word (Dvijaḥ) would well extend up to verse 142, and the word 'Viprah' conveying an identical meaning would not have any ground in the said verse for justification. In the light of the above, we may consider ourselves to be justified in having proposed that a non-Brāhmaṇa individual, according to the Indian Code, can very well be a teacher and be regarded as an *Upādhyāya* or a *Guru*.

35 Cf. Daśāvatāracarita, Karkyāvatāra.

36 Op. Cit., verse 20.

37 Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Upasaṁhāra, v. 39 ; Mahābhāratamañjarī, Upasaṁhāra, v. 10 ; Avadānakalpalatā, Intro., v. 5.

38 Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Upasaṁhāra, v. 41.

39 See supra, Chap. V, para 1.

40 Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India, by Dr. B. C. Law, Chap. V ; The Age of the Imperial Unity, ed., Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 16 ;

Cf. Śākavṛkṣapraticchannaṁ vāsaṁ
yasmāt pracakrire/Tasmād Ikṣvāku-vaṁśyāste
bhuvi Śākyā iti śrutāḥ / /
—Bharata in his commentary on the Amarakośa,
quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma.

Chapter Six

[1] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 6.

[2] Cf. Ekādhike'vde vihitaścatvāriṁśe
sakārtike /
Rājye Kalaśa-bhūbhartuḥ Kaśmīresva
-cyutastavaḥ / /

[3] Ananta was a boy of eight when he was made king of Kashmir to the utter frustration of the evil design of her licentious mother, Śrīlekhā who had endeavoured to secure the crown for herself. This was in the year A.D. 1028. After a reign of thirty-five years, in the year A.D. 1063, at the persuasion of his wife, Sūryamatī, also called Subhaṭā, Ananta formally abdicated in favour of his son, Kalaśa. The royal couple soon realised their blunder, and Ananta took no time to resume charge of the administration, although Kalaśa was still the nominal king. This continued until A.D. 1076, when, following a rupture between Kalaśa and his parents, Ananta, induced by his all-powerful wife, retired to Vijayeśvara (Vijabror). The hostilities between the father and his son went on still unabated till at last, by setting fire to the town of Vijayeśvara, Kalaśa deprived his parents of all their wealth and pressed for Ananta's banishment. The old king lost patience at last and held Sūryamatī responsible for all the evils and their sufferings, and after a violent altercation with his wife, he committed suicide. The king was over sixty-one years at the time of his death which occurred in A.D. 1081. Kalaśa became a full-fledged king, and having ruled over

Kashmir for a further period of eight years, died in A.D. 1089 at the age of forty-nine.

[4] See : M. A. Stein, Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vol. I, Intro., pp. 109-111, and the Eng. tr. of the relevant verses ; R. C. Dutt, A Note on Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (The Hindu History of Kashmir, by H. H. Wilson, App. X) ; C. M. Duff, The Chronology of India, pp. 114, 125, 131-133 ; H. C. Ray, The Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, pp. 138-146 ; D. C. Ganguly, The Struggle for Empire (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. V), pp. 97-98 ; S. C. Ray, Early History and Culture of Kashmir, pp. 60-63 ; P. N. K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, pp. 139-141 ; P. V. Kane, Sāhitya-Darpaṇa, Intro., p. xcix ; M. Winternitz, A. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 56, fn. 1 ; K. C. Pāṇḍey, Abhinavagupta—An Historical and Philosophical study, p. 150 ; Sūryakānta, Kṣemendra Studies, p. 6. See also : M. A. Stein, Rājataraṅgiṇī, I. 13—Note ; G. Būhler, Kashmir Report, pp. 46-47, and his edition of Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Intro., p. 20 ; A. Weber, The History of Indian Literature, p. 213, fn. 224 ; R. C. Temple, Tawney's tr. of Kathāsaritsāgara, Vol. I, Intro., p. xxxii ; M. Krishṇamāchāriār, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 171 ; P. Peterson, his edition of Subhāṣitāvalī, Intro. ; Kathāsaritsāgara, Nirṇayasāgara, 4th ed., Intro., p. 1 ; Sūktimuktāvalī, ed. Embar Krishṇa-māchārya, Intro., p. 24 ; Kalāvilāsa, Kāvyamālā I, editorial note ; T. Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum.

N.B. :

A History of Sanskrit Literature, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De, Vol. I, p. 554—"Ananta ruled from 1020 to 1063 A.D." ; The Indian Antiquary, 1872, Vol. I, p. 315—"From a reliable source it has been ascertained that Saṅgrāma ascended the throne in 1027 A.D., and his son Ananta in 1052, and Harsha the grandson of the latter in 1059"—("On some Eminent Characters in Sanskrit Literature", by M. Śeshagiri Śāstrī).

[5] A History of Sanskrit Literature, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De, Vol. I, p. 96, fn. 2.

[6] Op. Cit., I. 3.

[7] Cf. ....

Kṣemendreṇa praṇayivipadāṁ
harturāścaryakartur-
Bhūbhṛdbharturbhuvanajayino'-
nantarājasya rājye.
Op. Cit., Vinyāsa III, verse No. 40.

[8] Cf. Yasyāsiḥ parivārakṛt tribhuvana-
prakhyātasīlaśruteḥ
Sarvasyāvanatena yena nitarāṁ
prāptā viśeṣonnātiḥ /
Āśāḥ śītalatāṁ nayatyaviratam
yasya pratāpānalas-
Tasya Śrīmad-Anantarājanṛpateḥ
kāle kilāyaṁ kṛtaḥ / /

[9] Cf. Kāsmīreṣu pṛthupratāpasavituḥ
kīrtyaṁśutārāpateḥ
Prauḍhārātivanānalasya dhanada-
syendrasya bhūmaṇḍale /
Viśvākāravataḥ punaḥ kaliyuge Viṣṇor-
ivotsāhino
Rājye śrīmad Anantarājanṛpateḥ
kāvyodayo'yaṁ kṛtaḥ / /

[10] Cf. Adricchidravinidraraudraphaṇīnām
-atrāsti kālaṁ kulaṁ
Mattāstatra vasanti dantipatayaḥ
siṁhāśrayeyaṁ guhā /
Ityārtiprativaddhavṛddhaśabarī-
vargeṇa mārgāgragā
Yadvairipramadāḥ sadā vanamahī-
gāḍhagrahe vāritāḥ / /
(Samayamātṛkā, concluding verse No. 3).

11 Cf. Vīrasyārtadayāvidheyamanasaḥ
śīlavṛtālaṁkṛter
Nistriṁśaḥ paradārakṛj jayavidhau
yasyaikakāryaḥ suhṛt /
Tasyānantamahīpatervirajasaḥ
prājyādhirājyodaye
Kṣemendreṇa subhāṣitaṁ kṛtamidaṁ
satpakṣarakṣākṣamam / /
(Samayamātṛkā, concluding verse No. 4).

12 Cf. Yo matsyakūrmādivicitrarūpair
-āścaryakārī hṛdayastharatnaḥ /
Śrīmān Anantaḥ sphuṭaśankhacakraḥ
śriye'stu Viṣṇurvibhavodadhirvaḥ / /

It may be noted that the above verse admits of interpretation well without reference to king Ananta, in which case, however, the word 'Anantaḥ' as it occurs there should be taken in its literal sense, as an adjunct to 'Viṣṇuḥ'.

13 Cf.Kīrtistārabhṛkutir-uditā pāpaśatrupramāthe
Dikṣūtsāhaḥ kimapi sugato lokanāthasya yasya /
Tasmin Kṣoṇīpatiparivṛdhe śāsati kṣām-Anante
Santoṣāya praśamasukhināṁ nirmito'yaṁ prabandhaḥ / /
—Avadānakalpalatā, Somendra's Intro., verse no. 17.

14 Rāj. VII. 167 et seq.
Cf. Kathāsaritsāgara, Epilogue, verse no. 3—Eng. tr. with Note (C. H. Tawney's "The Ocean of Story", ed. N. M. Penzer, Vol. IX, p. 87).

15 Cf. Tasyātmajo namad-aśeṣamahīśamauli-
māṇikyakāyanikaṣīkṛtapādapīṭhaḥ /
Śrīmān-Ananta iti tatkulakalpavṛkṣaḥ
śauryaikarāśir-udapadyata cakravartī / /
Dvārāgrasīmani ca yasya nikṛttakaṇṭhaḥ
kṣiptvodaraṁ narapater-luṭhati sma mūrdhā /
Sevāgato jitamahāharicakracāru-
kīrtiśraveṇa paritoṣamivaitya Rāhuḥ / /
—Op. Cit., verses nos. 2 and 3.

16 Op. Cit., verses nos. 33-39.

17 Kathāsaritsāgara, Epilogue, verse no. 9. See below Dr. L. D. Barnett's Eng. tr. published in C. H. Tawney's tr. of Kathāsaritsāgara ("The Ocean of Story"), ed. N. M. Penzer, Vol. IX (pp. 88-89) :

"Her son was the blest monarch King Kalaśa, who, though a unique *tilaka* on the circle of the earth, was nevertheless *an—alīka—lagna,* and, though a friend to the *guṇī,* was full of rich ambrosia." (See also the relevant notes appended—Ibid., p. 89, fn. 1 & 2.) The third foot of the verse may be translated as follows :

Though malignant (aśiva) to the hostile group, he was an incarnation of (god) Śiva (or, the supreme good) [Ś(ś)ivāvatāraḥ].

18 See Vikram. XVIII. 51-63 ; see also Būhler's Intro. (pp. 9-10) to his edition of the work.

19 Op. Cit., verse no. 53.

20 Ibid., verse no. 56.

21 Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 353.

22 Vikram., ed. Būhler, Intro., pp. 20-21.

23 Op. Cit., Vol. I, Intro., p. xxxii.

24 Subh., ed. Peterson, Intro. ; Minor works, Intro., p. 23.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1 Kṣemendra Studies, p. 10.

2 Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Preface, p. 3.

3 Krishṇa., p. 171 (Art. 68).

4 Minor Works, Intro., pp. 1, 23.

5 Saṁskṛtasāhityetihāsaḥ, by Ācārya Śrī-Rāmacandra Miśra, p. 57.

6 Cf. Dr. Būhler's Kashmir Report ; Weber quoting Būhler in his Hist. of Indian Lit. p. 213, fn. 224 ; Peters. IV, p. xxiii ; JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 400 ; Aufrecht's Cat.

Cat. ; Rāj., ed. Stein, I. 13—Note, Note H, p. 308 ; Hist. of Skt. Lit., by Dr. Dasgupta and Dr. De, Vol. I, p. 96, fn. 2 and p. 554 ; Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Vol. I, Prefatory Note ; Kathāsaritsāgara, ed. Durgāprasād etc., Intro. ; Sūktimuktāvalī, ed. Embar Krishṇamāchārya, Intro., and so on.

7 Compare, for example, the accounts of the following kings : Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, Rāj. IV. 245 ; Jayāpīḍa, Raj. IV. 486-497 ; Avantivarman, Rāj. V. 32-34 ; Harṣa, Rāj. VII. 934-937, 941, 946-949 ; Jayasiṁha, Rāj. VIII. 2393-2399 ; etc.

8 Supra, pp. 76-77.

9 Cf. Kṣemendra Studies, p. 28 ; Nītikalpataru, ed. Dr. Mahājan, Intro., pp. ii & v.

10 Supra, p. 75.

11 See Peters. I, p. 8, fn. ("A Kalaśa however is quoted in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati-Aufrecht's article in the magazine of the German Oriental Society"). In the Subhāṣitāvalī (see Peterson's edition), as many as eleven verses are attributed to Kalaśa, also named Kalaśaka. They are as follows :

Topic	*No.*	*Ascribed to*
Āśīrvacana	52	Kalaśa
Āśīrvacana	53	Kalaśa
Sūryenduvarṇanam	562	Kalaśaka
Meghāḥ	850	Kalaśaka
Samudraḥ	880	Kalaśaka
Samudraḥ	881	Kalaśaka
Saṁkīrṇavastupaddhatiḥ	996	Kalaśaka
Virahiṇāṁ pralāpaḥ	1280	Kalaśaka
Virahiṇāṁ pralāpaḥ	1322	Kalaśaka
Strīvilokanam	1465	Kalaśa
Bāhu	1529	Kalaśaka

That Kalaśa and Kalaśaka are identical is admitted by scolars (Cf. Peterson's Intro. to his edition of Subhāṣi-

tāvalī; Suvṛttatilaka, ed. KM, No. II, p. 38, fn. 1; Minor Works, Intro., p. 23). It may be pointed out as an additional evidence in support of this identification that the verse bearing no. 1280 in the Subhāṣitāvalī (Peterson's ed.), which is ascribed to Kalaśaka in the said anthology is quoted with slight variations (i.e., 'madamantharāṇi' for 'madamantharāyāḥ', and 'nātyarthavanti' for 'nāpyarthavanti') in Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvalī where it is attributed to Kalaśa; further, the verse attributed to Kalaśaka in Kṣemendra's Suvṛttatilaka appears with the two halves transposed and some variants (i.e., 'locanapratiśarīralāñchitam' for 'locanapratiśarīraśāritam', and 'āttamāttamadhikantam' for 'āttamāttamapikāntam') in the Sūkimuktāvalī under he name of Kalaśa as its author; and this Kalaśa is considered to be identical with Ananta's son, King Kalaśa of Kashmir (Cf. Sūktimuktāvalī ed. Embar Krishṇamāchārya, Intro., p. 24). In addition to the abovementioned verse which is under 'Viyogipralāpapaddhati' (Sec. 43, p. 152), there occurs in the Sūktimuktāvalī (ed. as above) one more verse attributed to Kalaśa under 'Jalakrīḍāpaddhati' (Sec. 67, p. 246).

12 Kathāsaritsāgara, Epilogue, verse no. 9.

13 Cf. "Sa ca Bhoja-narendraśca dānotkarṣeṇa viśrutau /
Sūrī tasmin kṣaṇe tulyaṁ dvāvāstāṁ kavi-bāndhavau / /"
Rāj. VII. 259.

Cf. Dr. Būhler's interpretation of the above verse: "Kalhaṇa asserts....that Bhoja and Kshitirāja or Kshitipati were in the time after 1062 the only true friends of poets. Kalhaṇa says, tasmin kshaṇe tulyaṁ dvāvāstāṁ kavibāndhavau, and this tasmin kshaṇe, 'at that moment', refers to the period, when, after the coronation of Kalaśa in 1062, Kshitirāja had become a saṁnyāsī and sometimes visited king Ananta in order to console him."—Vikram., ed. Būhler, Intro., p. 23, fn. 1.

14 Kathāsaritsāgara, Epilogue, verse nos 11 and 12.

15 Darpadalana, III. 10.

CHAPTER EIGHT

[1] Cf. Minor Works, Intro., p. 2.
[2] Cf. Abhinavagupta, by Dr. K. C. Pāṇḍey, pp. 10-11.
[3] Ibid., p. 21.
[4] Ibid., pp. 153-161.
[5] Ibid., p. 155.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Cf. "Ākhyātopayoge"-Pāṇ. I. 4. 29.
[8] Cf. Sarvatra pratibodha-.......guroḥ /
Śrutvā samyagidaṁ prabhor Abhinavāt
.......Śrī-Spandasūtraṁ manāk / /
——Spanda-Sandoha of Kṣemarāja, Concluding verse no. 3.
[9] Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 265.
[10] Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 24. [It may be noted that the portions within parentheses are additions by the translator—Cf. Ibid., Translator's Note, para 2.]
[11] Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Vaidya, Intro., p. VIII.
[12] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 401.
[13] Kashmir Report, p. 46 ; Peters. I, p. 11 ; Peters. IV, p. xxiii.
[14] Minor Works, p. 61—the edition of the text under reference is based on the printed edition of the same published in the Chowkhāmbā Series—Ibid., p. 30 ; Kāvyamālā, Part I, p. 159 and fn.
[15] Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 264.
[16] The eight names are : Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Bhaṭṭa Prabhākara, Bhaṭṭendurāja, Bhaṭṭa Laṭṭana, Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Bhavabhūti, and Bhaṭṭa Tauta.
[17] Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 24.
[18] JBRAS, Vol. XVI, Art. XII.
[19] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 401.
[20] Cat. Cat.
[21] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 22.
[22] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 13.
[23] Minor Works, Intro., p. 2.

[24] Viśvakoṣa.
[25] Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Vaidya, Vol. 1, Intro., p. IX.
[26] Krishṇa., p. 173, fn. 2.
[27] Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 264.
[28] Manu II. 142.
[29] Manu II. 149 ; See also Medhātithi on the same verse.
[30] Manu II. 141.
[31] Manu II. 141.
[32] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 401.
[33] Sa jayati saṁkalpabhavo
Ratimukhaśatapatracumbanabhramaraḥ /
Yasyānuraktalalanānayanāntavilokitaṁ vasatiḥ / /
[34] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 13.
[35] Cf. Śrīmad-bhāgavatācārya-
Somapādāvjareṇubhiḥ /
Dhanyatāṁ yaḥ paraṁ prāpto
Nārāyaṇaparāyaṇaḥ / /
—Mahābhāratamañjarī, concluding portion (following Harivaṁśa), v. 9 ; this verse occurs in Bṛhatkathāmañjarī as v. 38 (upasaṁhāra) with 'paraṁ prāpto' given as 'paraṁ yāto'.
[36] Deśopadesa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 22.
[37] Pāṇ. III. 4.21.
[38] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 22.
[39] Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Vaidya, Vol. I, Intro., p. IX.
[40] Minor Works, Intro., p. 2.
[41] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 402.
[42] Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 265.
[43] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 15.
[44] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 22.
[45] Kashmir Report, p. 46.
[46] Krishṇa., p. 171, Art. 68.
[47] Sūktimuktāvalī, ed. E. Krishṇamāchārya, Intro., p. 30.
[48] Cat. Cat.
[49] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 22.
[50] Ibid.
[51] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 402.

[52] Cat. Cat.
[53] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Intro., p. 22.
[54] Kashmir Report, p. 46.
[55] Sanskrit Poetics, by Dr. Kane, p. 265.
[56] Krishṇa., 171, Art. 68.
[57] Minor Works, Intro., p. 2.
[58] Sūktimuktāvalī, ed. E. Krishṇamāchārya, Intro., p. 30.
[59] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 15.
[60] Viśvakoṣa.
[61] Supra, Chap. VIII, fn. 35.
[62] Pāṇ. II. 1. 72.
[63] Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Dr. Vaidya, Vol. I, Intro., p. IX.
[64] Op. Cit., Upasaṁhāra, verse no. 41.
[65] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, pp. 401-402.
[66] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 15.
[67] Athābhyetya svayaṁ tasya
gṛhaṁ prajñāprakāśavān /
Ācāryo Vīryabhadrākhyaḥ
prakhyātasukṛtojjvalaḥ / /
Jinaśāsanaśāstreṣu
parinisṭhitamānasaḥ /
Gambhīrāgamamārge'smin
yayau ratnapradīpatām / /
—Somendra's Intro. to Avadānakalpalatā,
verses nos 12 and 13.
[68] The word 'Ratnapradīpaḥ' in the present context should for cogent and better meaning be analysed either as 'Ratnam eva Pradīpaḥ' or as 'Ratnaṁ cāsau Pradīpaś ca' instead of as 'Ratnanirmitaḥ Pradīpaḥ' or something like that.
[69] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 14.
[70] Aucityavicāracarcā, Upasaṁhāra, verse no. 3.
[71] Minor Works, Intro., p. 2.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 11.

75 "Vyutpattyai Sarvaśiṣyatā"—
Kavikaṇṭthābharaṇa, II. 14.

76 Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, Upasaṁhāra, verse no. 5; Mahābhāratamañjarī, Upasaṁhāra, verse no. 7.

77 Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, pp. 22-23.

CHAPTER NINE

1 See supra, p. 30.

2 Along with verse no. 46—See: Minor Works, p. 30.

3 Sandhi II, along with verse no. 12—See: Minor Works, p. 68; Sandhi V, along with verse no. 55, See: Minor Works, p. 81.

4 Vinyāsa, I, along with verse no. 5—See: Minor Works, p. 87.

5 Cf. 'Yathā Bhagavato Mahareṣeḥ Vyāsasya', 'Yathā Bhagavān Vyāsaḥ', 'Yathā Bhagavato Vyāsasya'.

6 For example: Kārpaṭika, Gandinaka, Candaka, Candraka, Tuñjīra, Parivrājaka, Parimala, Pāṇini, Vīradeva, Vidyānanda, Vidyādhara, Mālavakuvalaya, Mālavarudra, Sāhila, Muktākaṇa, Abhinanda, Amaraka, Bhartṛhari, Vāgbhaṭa, Varāhamihira, Bhāravi, Māgha, Mātṛgupta, Śrīharṣa, Rājaśekhara, Kālidāsa, etc.

7 For example: Bhaṭṭendurāja, Bhaṭṭa-Dāmodaragupta, Bhaṭṭa-Prabhākara, Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa, Bhaṭṭa-Vācaspati, Bhaṭṭa-Bhallaṭa, Bhaṭṭa-Mayūra, Bhaṭṭa-Muktikalaśa, Śrī-Pravarasena, Śrī-Yaśovarmadeva, Bhaṭṭa-Śrī-Śivasvāmin, etc.

8 For example: Rājaputra Muktāpīḍa, Macchiṣya-Rājaputra-Lakṣmaṇāditya, Macchiṣya-MahāŚrī-Bhaṭṭodayasiṁha, Śrīmad-Utpalarājadeva, Śrī-Bhīmasāheḥ Sāndhivigrahikaḥ Indrabhānuḥ, Asmad-upādhyāya-Gaṅgaka, Vidyādhipatya-paranāman Ratnākara, etc.

9 Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Sandhi II—See: Minor Works, p. 68.

10 Ibid.

[11] Parvans : Sabhā, Āraṇya, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Śalya, Gadā, Sauptika, Strī, Śānti, Āśvamedhika, Āśramavāsika, Mausala, Mahāprāsthānika, & Svarga, and the Harivaṁśa.

[12] Harṣacarita, Intro. verse no. 3.

[13] Atrāntare jñānasahasrarasmi-
rapāravedāmṛtasindhusetuḥ /
Sarasvatīmānasarājahaṁsaḥ
Kṛṣṇo'py-akṛṣṇo munir ājagāma / /

[14] Mahābhāratamañjarī, Concluding portion, verse no. 16.

[15] Op. Cit., Vinyāsa I, verse no. 3.

[16] Tr. by Dr. Sūryakānta—Kṣemendra Studies, p. 173.

[17] Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, Bālakāṇḍa, verse no. 2.

[18] Ibid., verse no. 3.

[19] Ibid., verse no. 4.

[20] Ibid., Upasaṁhāra, verse no. 2.

Chapter Ten

[1] Op. Cit., Upasaṁhāra, verse no. 10.

[2] Op. Cit., Upasaṁhāra, verse no. 39.

[3] Op. Cit., Somendra's Intro. verse no. 5.

[4] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, p. 420.

[5] Rāj. VIII, 783.

[6] Rāj. VIII, 184.

[7] Rāj. V, 239.

[8] Rāj. VI, 91.

[9] Rāj. VII, 675.

[10] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 13.

[11] Avadānakalpalatā, Somendra's Intro., verse 6 et seq.

[12] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 13.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Minor Works, Intro., p. 2.

[15] Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Vaidya, Vol. I, Intro., p. IX.

[16] Cf. Kṣemendra Studies, pp. 13-14.

[17] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, pp. 401-402.

[18] Avadānakalpalatā, Somendra's Intro., verse no. 15.

[19] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 14—"Somendra mentions Sūrya-Śrī as Kṣemendra's scribe."

[20] Op. Cit., Upasaṁhāra, verse no. 4.

[21] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, p. 26, fn. 3.

[22] "Rājāhassakhibhyaṣṭac"—Pāṇ. V. 4. 91.

[23] Rāj. II, 62 ; A History of Kashmir, by P.N.K. Bamzai, p. 170.

[24] Nītikalpataru, ed. Mahājan, Intro., p. ii.

[25] Rāj. IV, 711, 716.

[26] Rāj. VIII, 1079.

[27] Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Sandhi V—See : Minor Works, pp. 82-83.

[28] Rāj. VII, 581, 1054.

[29] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 14.

[30] Op. Cit., Sandhi V.

[31] Cf. Rāj. VIII, 911, 1286, 1483, 1484, 1567, 1599. 1628, 1647, 1657, 1658, 1663, 1681, 1683, 1684, 1694, 1695, 1701, 1702, 1731, 1840, 1887, 1901-1904, 1981, and 1999.

[32] Cf. Pāṇḍeya Rāmtej Shāstrī's Hindi tr. of Rāj.—IV, 513 ; VIII, 1731.

[33] Cf. Stein's tr. of Rāj. See also—Kane : Hist. of Dh. Śās., Vol. III, p. 981 ; Beniprasad : The State in Ancient India, p. 44 ; Altekar : State and Government in Ancient India, Chap. VIII, etc.

[34] Kṣemendra Studies, p. 15.

[35] For a detailed discussion on the topic, see my article entitled "Kṣattṛ—A State-Functionary of Ancient India" published in Our Heritage, 1962, Vol. X, Pt. I ; see also my article "Kṣattṛ—a name of Vidura" published in the Sanskrit College Magazine, Calcutta, 1962-63.

[36] Tait. Br. I. 7, 3, 1.

[37] Mait. Saṁ. IV. 3, 8.

[38] Pañ. Br. XIX. 1, 4.

[39] Mait. Saṁ. II. 9. 4 ; Kāṭh. Saṁ. 17. 13 ; Tait. Saṁ IV. 5. 4 ; Vāj. Saṁ. 16. 26.

[40] Kāt. Śr. Sū. ("Sāvitraḥ Kṣattuḥ").

[41] Yāska, X. 31.

[42] Śat. Br. V. 3, 1, 7.

[43] Atharva III. 5, 6-7.

[44] Rām. Ayodhyā. 79.1 (Comm.) ; Dīghanikāya, Mahāgovinda Suttanta ; Pāṇ. III. 2.95 ; Hindu Polity, by K. P. Jayaswal, pp. 196-197 ; India as known to Pāṇini, by V. S. Agrawala, p. 400.

[45] A History of Hindu Public Life, by U. N. Ghoshāl, Pt. I, p. 41.

[46] Ibid., p. 109 ; Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vol. I, p. 201 ; Vaidika-Padānukrama-Koṣa, by Viśvabandhu.

[47] Cf. Manu X. 16 ; Yājña. I. 94.

[48] Op. Cit., IX. 6.43 ; Ibid., X. 39.12.

[49] Cf. Amarakośa, Anekārthasaṁgraha, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Anekārthakośa, Vaijayantī, etc.

[50] Viśvakoṣa, Vācaspatya, Śabdasāra, Roth and Bōhtling, Monier Williams, V. S. Apte, etc.

Chapter Eleven

[1] Mentioned by Kalhaṇa in Rāj. I. 13. The editio princeps of Rāj. was published in 1835 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

[2] Catalogued by Weber, vide Berlin Cat. Cf. IA, Vol. I, 1872, p. 307 fn.

[3] Mentioned in the Oxford Cat. Cf. ZDMG, 27, Leipzig, 1873—"Ūber die Paddhati von Cārṅgadhara" by Weber, p. 19.

[4] Mentioned in the Oxford Cat.

[5] Attributed to Kṣemendra by Burnouf. Cf. Historie du Buddhisme, sec. VI.

[6] Ed. Peterson, BSS, 1888.
Cf. ZDMG, 25, 1871; Ibid., 27, 1873.

[7] See JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 398.

[8] Cf. Ibid.; ZDMG, 27, 1873, p. 19.

[9] Kashmir. Report, p. 45; IA, Vol. I, 1872, p. 307; JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 398.

[10] IA, Vol. I, 1872, p. 304 fn.

[11] Kashmir Report, p. 45.

[12] Ibid.; Notices of Skt. Mss., Vol. I, p. 44, Ms. No. LXXX; ZDMG, 27, 1873, p. 19; JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 398.

[13] Kashmir Report, p. 45.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Bühler's Report.

[16] Kashmir Report, App. I, p. x, Ms. No. 154.

[17] Ibid., App. I, p. xxiii, Mss. Nos. 347 and 348.

[18] Ibid., App. III, p. clxx, Ms. No. 824.

[19] Ibid., App. I, p. xii, Mss. No.s. 182 and 183.

[20] Ibid., App. I. p. ix, Mss. Nos. 132 and 133.

[21] Ibid., App. I, p. xiii, Ms. No. 201.

[22] Ibid., App. II (Extracts), p. lxv, Ms. No. 154.

[23] Ibid., App. I, p. xviii, Ms. No. 270.

[24] Ibid., App. I, p. xxiii, Ms. No. 351.

[25] Ibid., App. I, p. xxii, Mss. Nos. 339 and 340.

[26] Cf. Dr. Bühler's statement in his Kashmir Report, p. 48—"The work (i.e., the Nṛpāvalī) exists now in Kashmir. But the hope that it would soon come into my hands, which I expressed in my preliminary Report, has hitherto not been fulfilled. I do not, however, yet despair of ultimately obtaining it."

[27] Cf. Dr. Stein's statement in his Rāj., Intro., p. 25 fn.—"I have spared no efforts in the endeavour to bring to light a copy of Kṣemendra's Nṛpāvali from Kasmirian libraries. Like Prof. Bühler I had long hoped that the work might yet be recovered from some *'garta'*. Repeated offers of substantial rewards have, however, failed

to draw it forth. I fear therefore that the statement made to Prof. Būhler as to the existence of the work in Kasmir was only an *ignis fatuus.*"

28 Kashmir Report, App. II (Extracts) : (a) Daśāvatāra -carita, Ms. No. 33, pp. lxi-lxiii ; (b) Bhāratamañjarī (with only one verse of the Vyāsāṣṭaka), Ms. No. 154, pp. lxiv-lxv ; (c) Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra, Mss. Nos. 182 and 183, pp. lxxii-lxxxiii ; (d) Samayamātṛkā, Ms. No. 201, pp. cxxi-cxxii ; (e) Nītikalpataru, Ms. No. 351, p. cxli.

29 Cf. JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 399, fn. 1 ; ibid., S. VIII, T. VII, 1886, p. 190.

30 Ibid., S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 399.
As regards the Cārucaryā, it may be mentioned that we find two copies of the work included in Būhler's list of Mss. purchased in 1875-76. In the Cat. Cat. (c. 1891), Aufrecht refers this work to Būhler's Kashmir Report and also to Rajendralal Mitra's Notices of Skt. Mss. (1871-90), but not to Peterson's Report. As regards the Caturvargasaṁgraha, however, we have in the Cat. Cat. a reference to Peters. I.

31 Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das, Bib. Ind., 1888, Vol. I, Prefatory Note.

32 Ibid.; also Avadānakalpalatā, ed. Vaidya, Mithila Inst., Vol. I, Intro. ; Kṣemendra Studies, pp. 19-20.

33 Cecil Bendall, Cat. of Buddhist Skt. Mss. in the University Library, Cambridge, 1883 ; Cf. JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 399.

34 In his review of Peterson's First Report (August 1882 —March 1883), Būhler in IA, January, 1884 pointed out that Peterson in his list of the then known works of Kṣemendra had omitted a small treatise on rhetoric called Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa.

35 JBRAS, Vol. XVI, 1883-1885, Art. XII by Prof. Peterson, p. 167.

36 Ibid., IA, January, 1884.

37 Cf. JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 399 ; Winternitz, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 24 fn. 3 ; Sanskrit Poetics, by De, Vol. I, p. 132.

[38] JBRAS, Vol. XVI, Art. XII, p. 167.
[39] IA, January, 1884.
[40] JBRAS, Vol. XVI, Art. XII, p. 179.
[41] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 399.
[42] Ibid., p. 407.
[43] Ibid., pp. 423-450.
[44] As Le'vi informs us in 1886, the manuscripts of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī known till then were five in number, of which three were discovered in the palace of Tanjore and classified by Burnell, and the other two acquired by Būhler and deposited in the library of the Deccan College at Poona.

The three manuscripts after which Le'vi reconstructed the text were : (i) a copy of a manuscript of Tanjore bequeathed by Burnell to the India Office Library, (ii) the manuscript acquired by Būhler in Gujarat in 1872, and (iii) the fragmentary manuscript discovered by Būhler at Broach in 1875. (Cf. JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 422).

For a study of the manuscripts see JA, S. VIII, T. VII, 1886, pp. 178-182.

[45] JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, pp. 451-479.
[46] Op. Cit., Vinyāsa III.
[47] Cf. Kashmir Report.
[48] For Le'vi's list of Kṣemendra's works, see JA, S. VIII, T. VI, 1885, p. 399 fn.
[49] For Peterson's list, see JBRAS, Vol. XVI, 1883-1885, Art. XII, pp. 167 and 179. The article referred to was read by Peterson at a meeting of the Society held on the 6th March, 1885. (Cf. Ibid., Abstract of the Society's Proceedings, pp. xxiii-xxiv.)
[50] Notices of Skt. Mss., 1871-90, Ms. No. 2822.
[51] Cat. Cat. (c. 1891).
[52] KM, 1, 1886, Durgāprasād and K. P. Parab.
[53] KM, 1, 1886, „
[54] KM, 2, 1886, „
[55] KM, 2, 1886, „
[56] KM, 2, 1886, „

[57] KM, 4, 1887, "
[58] KM, 5, 1888, "
[59] KM, 10, 1888, "
[60] KM, 6, 1890, "
[61] KM, 26, 1891, "
[62] KM, 64, 1898, Śivadatta and K. P. Parab.
[63] KM, 69, 1901, "
[64] KM, 83, 1903, Bhavadatta and K. P. Parab.
[65] Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das and H. M. Vidyābhūshaṇa, partly revised by D. C. Chatterji, M.A., Reprint ed., Prefatory Note.
[66] Buddhist Sanskrit Texts Nos. 22 and 23.
[67] Op. Cit., Sandhi V.
[68] See supra.
[69] Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. Kaul, Preface, pp. 1-2.
[70] Lokaprakāśa, ed. Zadoo, Foreword, p. 4.
[71] Op. Cit., Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 289-412.
[72] Op. Cit., 1877, p. 75.
[73] Op. Cit., 1900 : Appendices, Note H, 10 ; Memoir on the ancient geography of Kashmir, Chap. II, Sec. V, 26, chap. IV, Sec. II, 86.
[74] The works are : Aucityavicāracarcā, Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Suvṛttatilaka, Caturvargasaṁgraha, Cārucaryā, Darpadalana, Sevyasevakopadeśa, Kalāvilāsa, Deśopadeśa, Narmamālā and Samayamātṛkā.
[75] Op. Cit., pp. 5-8.
[76] Ibid., pp. 419-422.
[77] St. Petersberg.
[78] Altindische Schelmenbücher, Lotus-Verlag, Leipzig.
[79] WZKM, 28, pp. 406-35.
[80] ZDMG, 69, pp. 1-51.
[81] Cf. Kuṭṭanīmatam, ed. Tridivanātha Ray, M. A., LL.B., Vasumatī-Sāhitya-Mandira, Calcutta, 1st ed., 1360 B.S., Preface, p. 2.
[82] Cf. Ibid.
[83] Poona Oriental Series No. 91, Oriental Book Agency, Poona.
[84] Op. Cit., pp. 91-205.

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25.	,,	Report of Skt Mss, 1874-75, Girgaum, 1875
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30.	Dasgupta, S. N. and De, S. K.	A History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, Cacutta, 2nd ed., 1962

31.	Deccan College Catalogue, 1884	A Catalogue of Skt Mss in the library of the Deccan College (Part I prepared under the superintendence of F. Kielhorn, Part II and Index prepared under the superintendence of R. G. Bhandarkar)
32.	Deccan College Catalogue, 1888	A Catalogue of the Callections of Mss deposited in the Deccan College, Bombay, 1888
33.	De, S. K.	Aspects of Sanskrit Literature, Calcutta, 1959
34.	De, S. K.	Studies in History of Sanskrit Poetics, 1st ed., London, 1923 ; 2nd and revised ed., Calcutta, 1960
35.	Dhanañjaya	Daśarūpaka
36.	Dīgha-Nikāya	
37.	Dikshitar	Purana Index
38.	Dowson, J.	A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature, London, 1879
39.	Duff, C. M.	The Chronology of India, Westminister, 1899
40.	Gajānan Rāje, Chandrakānt	Biography and History in Sanskrit, Bombay, 1958
41.	Ganhar and Ganhar	Buddhism in Kashmir
42.	Ghoshāl, U. N.	A History of Hindu Political Theories
43.	Ghoshāl, U. N.	A History of Hindu Public Life
44.	Ghoshāl, U. N.	A History of Indian Political Ideas
45.	Halder, Gurupada	Vyākaraṇa-Darśanera Itihāsa
46.	Heesterman, J. C.	The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration, The Hague, 1957
47.	Hemacandra	Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi
48.	Hemacandra	Anekārthasaṁgraha
49.	(The) Indian Antiquary I, XIII	

50.	Indian Historical Quarterly 1935-38	
51.	Indische Studien XIV	
52.	Iyenger, V. Gopala	A Concise History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Tanjore, 1959
53.	Jalhaṇa	Sūktimuktāvalī, ed. by E. Krishṇa-māchārya, GAS 82, Baroda, 1938
54.	Jayaswal, K. P.	Hindu Polity, Bangalore, 1955
55.	Journal Asiatique, Paris,	S. VIII, T. VI, 1885 and T. VII, 1886
56.	Kalhaṇa	Rājataraṅgiṇī, ed. and tr. by M. A. Stein, Vols I & II, Delhi, 1961
57.	Kalhaṇa	Rājataraṅgiṇī, ed. and tr. by Pāṇḍeya Rāmtej Shāstrī, Kashi, 1960
58.	Kalhaṇa	Rājataraṅgiṇī, NSP
59.	Kane, P. V.	History of Sanskrit Poetics, 3rd revised ed., Delhi, 1961
60.	Kane, P. V.	History of Dharma-Śāstra, Vol. III
61.	Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā	
62.	Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra	
63.	Kaumudi	Kashmir
64.	Kauṭilya	Arthaśāstra
65.	Kāvyamālā Series	Gucchakas IX, XIII
66.	Keith, A. B.	A History of Sanskrit Literature
67.	Keith, A. B.	Classical Sanskrit Literature
68.	Kielhorn, F.	A Catalogue of Skt Mss existing in the Central Provinces, Nagpur, 1974
69.	Kielhorn, F.	List of the Skt Mss purchased for Govt during 1877-78 and 1869-78 and from May to Nov. 1881. Poona, 1881
70.	Krishna Caitanya	A New History of Ssnskrit Literature, Bombay, 1962
71.	Krishnamachariar, M.	History of classical Sanskrit Literature, Poona, 1937

72. Kṣemarāja Śivasūtravimarśinī, ed. by J. C. Chatterji, Kashmir Series 1, 1911

73. ,, Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam, ed. by J. C. Chatterji, Kashmir Series III, 1911

74. ,, Spandasandoha, ed. by MM. Pt. M. R. Shastri, Kashmir Series XVI, 1917

75. ,, Spandanirṇaya, ed. by Pt. M. S. Kaul Shastri, Kashmir Series XLII, 1925

76. Kṣemendra Kalāvilāsa, KM I, NSP, 1886

77. ,, Aucityavicāracarcā, KM I, NSP, 1886

78. ,, Suvṛttatilaka, KM2, NSP, 1886

79. ,, Sevyasevakopadeśa, KM2, NSP, 1886

80. ,, Cārucaryā, KM 2, NSP, 1886

81. ,, Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, KM4, NSP, 3rd ed. 1937

82. ,, Samayamātṛkā, KM 10, NSP, 1888

83. ,, Daśāvatāracarita, KM 26, NSP, 1891

84. ,, Bhāratamañjarī, KM 64, NSP, 1898

85. ,, Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, KM 83, NSP, 1903

86. ,, Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā, ed. by Pt. Madhusūudan Kaul Shāstrī, Kashmir Series 40, 1923

87. ,, Lokaprakāśa, ed. by Pt. J. Zadoo Shāstrī, Kashmir Series 75, 1947

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96. Macdonell, A. A. and Keith, A. B. Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, Vol. I, 1958

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98. Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

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103. Manusaṁhitā, with Comm. of Medhātithi and Kullūkabhaṭṭa

104. Matsya-Purāṇa

105. Medinīkara Anekārthaśabdakoṣa

106. Miśra, Ācārya Śrī-Rāmacandra Saṁskṛta-sāhityetihāsaḥ, Varanasi, 1960

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108. Mookerji, R. K. Chandragupta Maurya And His Times, Madras, 1943

109. Nīlamatapurāṇa, ed. by R. Kanjilal and J. Zadoo, Lahore. 1924

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111. Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa

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113. Pāṇini Aṣṭādhyāyī

114. Peterson, P. Report of operations in search of Skt Mss in the Bombay Circle, August 1882—March 1883, JBRAS, Vol. 16, Extra Number

115. ,, Report of operations etc., April 1883—March 1884, JBRAS, Vol. 17, Extra Number

116. ,, Report of operations elc., April 1884—March 1886, JBRAS, Vol. 18, Extra Number

117. Peterson, P. Rcport of operations etc., April 1886—March 1892, JBRAS, Extra Number, Bombay, 1894

118. ,, Report of operations etc., April 1892—March 1895, JBRAS, Bombay 1896

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120. Rāghavan, V. Presidential Address at A.I.O. Conf., 21st Session, 1961

121. Rājaśekhara Karpūramañjarī, ed. by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta, 1939

122. Rāmāyaṇa

123.	Ray, H. C.	The Dynastic History of Northern India, Calcutta, 1931
124.	Ray, S. C.	Early History and Culture of Kashmir, Calcutta, 1957
125.	Roth and Böhtling	Sanskrit Wörterbuch, St. Petersberg
126.	Sanskrit College Magazine, Calcutta, 1962-63	
127.	Śārṅgadhara	Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati, ed. by P. Peterson, BSS, 1888
128.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa	
129.	Somadeva	Kathāsaritsāgara, Eng. Tr. by C. H. Tawney, ed. by N. M. Penzer, London, 1924
130.	,,	Kathāsaritsāgara, NSP, 4th ed., 1930
131.	Sörensen, S.	An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata with a Concordance, London, 1923
132.	Śrīdharadāsa	Saduktikarṇāmṛta, POS 15, 1933
133.	Śrīmad-Bhāgavata	(with eight Commentaries)
134.	Sūryakānta	Kṣemendra Studies, Poona Oriental Series 91, Poona, 1954
135.	Taittirīya-Saṁhitā	
136.	Tārānātha Tarka-vācaspati	Vācaspatya
137.	Triennial Cat. of Skt Mss in Oriental Library, Madras, I-VII	
138.	Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā	
139.	Varadāchari, V	A History of Sanskrit Literature, 2nd revised ed., 1960
140.	Vasu, Nagendra-nātha	Viśva-Koṣa, Calcutta, 1893
141.	Vidyākara	Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa, ed. by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale, HOS 24, 1957

142.	Viśvabandhu	Vaidika-Padānukramakoṣa
143.	Viśvanātha	Sāhitya-Darpaṇa, ed. by Dr. P. V, Kane (with an Intro.), Bombay, 1923
144.	Weber, A.	The History of Indian Literature
145.	Williams, Monier	The Sanskrit-English Dictionary
146.	Wilson, H. H.	Essays and Lectures chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus, Vol. I (A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus)
147.	,,	The Hindu History of Kashmir (with a Note on Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī by R. C. Dutt)
148.	Winternitz, M.	History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, Pt. I, Tr. by Subhadra Jha, 1st ed., Delhi, 1963
149.	WZKM, 28	
150.	Yādava	Vaijayantī
151.	Yājñavalkya-Saṁhitā	
152.	Yāska	Nirukta
153.	ZDMG,	Band 25, 27, Leipzig

ABBREVIATIONS

Abhinava.	See Bib. s. no. 112
A. I. O. Conf.	All-India Oriental Conference
Amara	Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana of Amarasiṁha
App.	Appendix
Atharva.	Atharva-Saṁhitā
Bib.	A Select Bibliography (Supra, pp. 165-173)
Bib. Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica Series
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
Bühler's Cat	See Bib. s. no 24
Bühler's Report	See Bib. s. no. 25
Cat.	Catalogue
Cat. Cat.	See Bib. s. no. 8
Comm.	Commentary, Commentaries
Deccan Cat.	See Bib. s. no. 31, 32
ed.	edited, edition, editor
fn.	foot-note
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
Hist. of Cl. Skt. Lit.	History of Classical Sanskrit Literature
Hist. of Dh. Śās.	History of Dharmaśāstra
Hist. of Ind. Lit.	History of Indian Literature
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
IA	The Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
Ind. Stud.	Indische Studien
Intro.	Introduction, Introductory
JA	Journal Asiatique
JBRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Bombay Branch
Kashmir Report	See Bib. s. no. 26
Kashmir Series	The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir State

Kathā	Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva
Kāṭh. Saṁ.	Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā
Kāṭ. Śr. Sū	Katyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra
Kielhorn's Cat.	See Bib. s. no. 68
Kielhorn's List	See Bib. s. no. 69
KM	Kāvyamālā Series
Krishna.	See Bib. s. no. 71
Mait. Saṁ.	Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā
Minor Works	Minor Works of Kṣemendra, See Bib. s. no. 91
Mithila Inst.	The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga
Ms.	Manuscript
Mss	Manuscripts
New Cat.	See Bib. s. no. 92
Notices of Skt Mss	See Bib. s. no. 107
Pāṇ.	Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini
Pañ. Br.	Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa
Peters I	See Bib. s. no. 114
Peters II	See Bib. s. no. 115
Peters III	See Bib. s. no. 116
Peters IV	See Bib. s. no. 117
Peters V	See Bib. s. no. 118
POS	Punjab Oriental Series
Rāj.	Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa
Rām.	Rāmāyaṇa
Religion of the Hindus	See Bib. s. no. 146
Rep.	Report
S.	Série
s.	serial
Sanskrit Poetics (by Dr. De)	See Bib. s. no. 34
Śat. Br.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Skt.	Sanskrit
Skt. Acad.	The Sanskrit Academy Saries, Osmania University, Hyderabad

Subh.	Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva
T.	Tome
Tait. Br.	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tait. Saṁ.	Taittirīya-Saṁhitā
Tr., tr.	Translated, Translation
Vāj. Saṁ	Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā
Vikram.	Vikramāṅkadevacarita of Bilhaṇa
VSM	Vasumatī-Sāhitya-Mandira
Winternitz.	See Bib. s. no. 148
W Z K M	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Yājña.	Yājñavalkya-Saṁhitā
Yāska	Nirukta of Yāska
Z D M G	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

INDEX OF NAMES

[This Index covers pages 1 to 120.
The name 'Kṣemendra' is not included in the Index]

ERRATA

(Pages 1—120)

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
1	21, 32	Somapāda	Somadeva
1	32	was due	was partly due
2	7	welded	wielded
30	27	ti	it
36	30	bṛati	bṛhati
43	12	inspite	in spite
44	14-15	Kṣmcndra	Kṣemendra
45	17	supposed	generally supposed
57	23	part	a part
86	4	as	an
96	27	versality	versatility
113	6	about even	even about

